

California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

fall 1980



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CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Published quarterly: ©1980 by CHS
Annual subscription and membership \$25.00
Student subscription and membership \$15.00
Single issues \$4.00 plus \$.80 postage.
Back issues and microfilm and xerograph facsimile copies available.

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Articles for publication, books for review and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Managing Editor, P.O. Box 3370, San Diego, CA 92103. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors.

LC 75-640289

ISSN 0612-2897

Second-class postage paid at
San Francisco, California and additional
mailing offices.
Publication number 084180

The California Historical Society is supported
in part by a grant from the San Francisco
Hotel Tax Fund.

COVER

Chinese bronze lions like this one stand guard in front of many of the gateways and buildings in the Imperial Palace in Peking. It was here that former governor of California, Frederick F. Low participated in the first audience granted by an Emperor of China to Western diplomats. To learn more of Low's career as a U.S. envoy to China please turn to the article beginning on page 240. Photograph by David L. Anderson.

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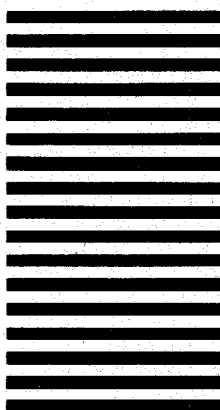
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The Magazine of the California Historical Society

PUBLISHED SINCE 1922

VOLUME LIX FALL 1980 NO. 3

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EISENSTEIN AND CALIFORNIA

The "Sutter's Gold" Episode

In August 1929, soon after completing final editing on his most recent film, "The Old and the New," the Soviet director, Sergei Eisenstein, left the U.S.S.R. for Western Europe. Eisenstein's immediate aim was preparation of the film for release in Germany, but he also had some hopes of remaining in Europe for several months, and possibly of traveling on to America. There he would examine recent developments in the use of sound in motion pictures. Eisenstein had on a number of occasions expressed interest in the possibility of cooperation between the Soviet and American film industries, an exchange he considered entirely consistent with the general program of the recently inaugurated First Five Year Plan.¹ Hollywood, for its part, was greatly interested in Eisenstein, as it had been earlier in the European directors Lubitsch and von Stroheim. Universal, United Artists, and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer all considered offering Eisenstein contracts, but in the end he signed an agreement to work with Paramount Studios for six months, during which he (with the assistance of his close associates Grigorii Aleksandrov and Eduard Tisse) would make a film in California on a subject to be mutually agreed upon.² Thus began a remarkable experience for both Eisenstein and Hollywood. From it would emerge an Eisenstein cynical about, and disillusioned with, the American film industry. At the same time, however, Eisenstein produced one excellent screenplay, "Sutter's Gold." Based on the life of Johann Sutter, whom Eisenstein

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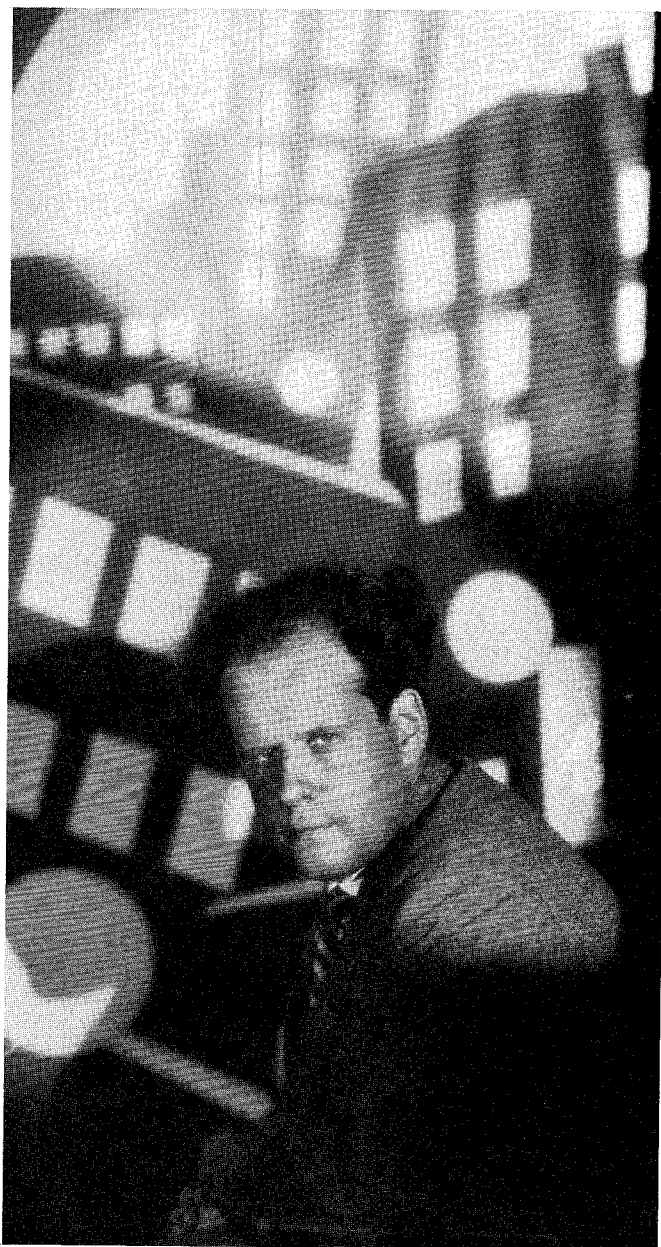
This article was first delivered as a paper at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in New Haven, Connecticut, in October 1979.

The author wishes to thank Wichita State University for research support and the staff of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, for their valuable assistance.

saw as the great victim of the California Gold Rush of the 1840s, it would be the fullest statement Eisenstein would make on California and its history.

Eisenstein remarked to a reporter soon after landing in New York that he hoped to make a “truly American film”³ in Hollywood, but the choice of a subject was not an easy one. From the beginning of their discussions, Eisenstein and Paramount found it difficult to agree on a project.⁴ In the meantime, Eisenstein made his way to California and settled into a luxurious Spanish colonial revival house in one of the more elegant suburbs of Los Angeles.⁵ He was immediately struck by the city’s surrealistic atmosphere, and a number of photographs taken by Eisenstein and his crew show a fascination with the area’s grotesqueries remarkably similar to that described later by Nathanael West in his quintessential Hollywood novel, *The Day of the Locust*.⁶ Eisenstein’s friend Salka Viertel remarked that he was delighted with “one of Aimee [Semple McPherson’s] most glamorous productions”⁷ at her famous (and notorious) Angelus Temple in Echo Park. He visited Venice Pier, the Russian Molokan colony of the city’s east side, sailed to Catalina Island on Charlie Chaplin’s yacht, traveled by car to Death Valley and Sequoia National Park.⁸

The Paramount publicity office arranged for the “genius of the new Soviet cinema” to visit other studios, directors, and Hollywood personalities. On the whole, Eisenstein was not amused: he found most of the celebrities “stupid and mediocre”⁹ (with the exception of Walt Disney — Eisenstein said of him that he was the only person in Hollywood who knew how to use sound properly in films.) The productions were disappointing, the heads of the other studios remarkably ignorant (Carl Laemmle wanted to know if Eisenstein thought Trotsky would be interested in writing a screenplay for his studio), and his social duties rather tiresome.



The film director Sergei Eisenstein, circa 1930, shortly after his arrival in America.

*Eisenstein and John W. Hicks,
Jr., the vice-president of
Paramount's Foreign Department,
in Atlantic City, May 1930.*

Throughout all this building of Eisenstein's American reputation by the Paramount publicity department, no decision on a project for the studio had been reached, and at one point, Eisenstein began visiting a psychiatrist in hopes of overcoming a "creative block" he believed he had. Finally, Paramount agreed that Eisenstein should write a script based on the recent European and American best-seller by Blaise Cendrars, *L'Or*, translated into English as *Sutter's Gold*.¹⁰

Eisenstein had asked to meet Cendrars during his recent stay in France, apparently with the intention of obtaining the film rights to the book from him.¹¹ Eisenstein was probably attracted to the novel most by its cinematic style.¹² Cendrars was a novelist, not a historian, and arranged his material on the basis of novelistic effect rather than historical veracity. Eisenstein knew little about California history (although he had seen Douglas Fairbanks' "The Mark of Zorro" in Moscow in the early 1920s), and he set out immediately to examine and study all he could find on the subject of Sutter and the Gold Rush period. He collected and annotated books, articles, and memoirs, examined daguerrotypes, costumes in museums, paintings from the period,¹³ traveled to San Francisco, to Sacramento and Sutter's Fort, to Sutter's Mill, Sutter's Hock Farm, sketching and photographing, interviewing local inhabitants. Returning to Hollywood, and in a fit of feverish energy, Eisenstein and his assistants completed the script in three days.

The screenplay was an evocative visualization of what Eisenstein had come to see as the tragedy of California — that it had been a paradise ruined by gold and greed. While there was much of Cendrars' original novel still present in the script, the work as a whole was clearly Eisenstein's because of his additions and changes. He introduced frog races to Gold Rush San Francisco (an *hommage* to Mark Twain



and his story, "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County"), and included the enormous sand dunes of Death Valley in the script after having been so impressed by them on a trip there. Other aspects of the screenplay were purely his own: Eisenstein's infatuation with the circus resulted in a considerably more elaborated circus sequence than the one Cendrars had included in his novel; the boxing match between Sutter and "a giant Negro"¹⁴ was reminiscent of the match he had staged in 1920-21 for Moscow's Proletkult production of Jack London's "The Mexican;" his description of ships docking in the San Francisco fog recall a similar scene filmed in Odessa harbor for "The Battleship Potemkin." Still, Eisenstein could take as many historical and geographical liberties as Cendrars did (and as most Hollywood directors and producers did as well¹⁵), and at times his recreations of reality verged on the absurd, although they were always based on cinematic and dramatic considerations. The sequence

depicting Sutter's journey from Fort Independence, Missouri, to the West is particularly full of inconsistencies, for example: Fort Independence was to look out on giant cacti and desert shrubs; after a few days of travel, the pioneer group was to encounter "totem poles" in this desert; and the Sierra Nevada redwoods that so impressed Eisenstein were to be included lining the banks of the Platte River because their phallic imagery was more evocative of the action planned for that sequence than the more botanically correct cottonwoods or aspens would have been.¹⁶

Eisenstein envisaged a new geography for the projected film, and added what he considered a new montage component to it: sound, used in an entirely innovative way.¹⁷ Sound was to be used to carry action, for transition between sequences, to comment on or satirize dramatic developments, and to encapsulate or clarify what was to be depicted on the screen visually.¹⁸ Ivor Montagu, one of Eisenstein's Hollywood assistants, has remarked that had the "Sutter's Gold" script been filmed at the time it was written, "the subsequent development of cinema might have been speeded by a decade."¹⁹ It was not, of course, and the resultant dominance of naturalistic sound in American films was one of the greatest disappointments Eisenstein felt after leaving Hollywood.

Eisenstein intended to use sound and visual imagery to convey a message to his audience: that California's tremendous possibilities had been spoiled by men's lust for gold. From his ship off San Francisco, Sutter saw what appeared to be "an earthly paradise," yet the reality of Mexican California was disappointing: "lonely hills, some pigs, two or three dilapidated huts and a dying, fever-stricken Spanish friar."²⁰ Governor Alvarado in Monterey was no more impressive to Sutter, and quite unfairly (from a historical point of view), Alvarado was to be sub-

*"They preached box-office to me
And the producers complained
that I didn't seem to get sex appeal
into my films"*

jected to the same type of satirically malicious treatment Kerenskii received in "October." Eisenstein's point was clear, however: the "Californios" were incapable of fulfilling their land's potential, and the energetic Sutter was the obvious counter to their laziness, flatulence, and incompetence.

Sutter created his New Helvetia on land the Mexican colonists had ignored and left virgin, and from Eisenstein's point of view, made of it a rational, well-organized, productive Arcadia. And so it remained until the arrival of Frémont, the annexation of California to the United States, and the discovery of gold at Sutter's Coloma mill. To a degree, the dramatic climax of the projected film was Sutter's ride back from the mill to his fort after inspecting the gold discovery site. The countryside was more beautiful than ever, and after a brief rain shower, "the garment of nature is soft and sparkling. Myriads of raindrops shimmer in the sunshine."²¹ This pastorate was to be replaced by what Eisenstein called a new symphony, one of picks and shovels, of trampling feet and creaking wagons, of axes felling orchards to uncover the gold in the trees' roots.

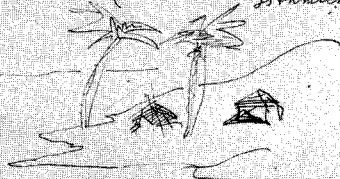
Sutter's fortune, and with his, California's, had been ascending during the first half of the screenplay. In the second, there was only destruction and tragedy: Sutter's wife arrived from Switzerland only to die at the gates of her husband's farm; Sutter's legal actions against those occupying and despoiling

page 19

Shore of San Francisco

Suttes
Dog
3 Mexican Soldiers
Spanish friar
2 pigs
Seagulls & pelicans.
Small boat.

1/2 Some where on the shore, where there are lots of birds.
(W.B. ? *Catalina* *Is. thomasi*)

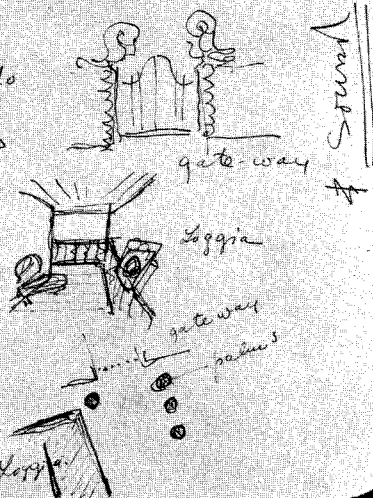


page 20 x 21.

Monterey

Governor Alvarado
4-5. ladies
4 Mexican Soldiers
Sattler
Dog.

14



page 21 (continued) - 24.

Su Her fort ("New Helvetia")

Laskey Ranch

718

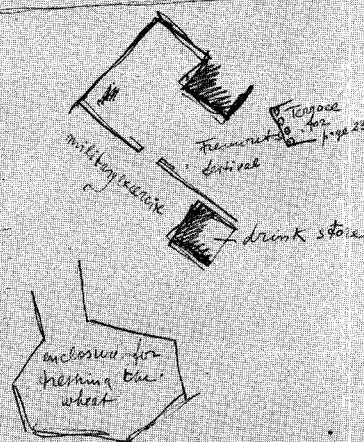


This setting is used for all connected with the fort.:

the construction
of the fort. (~~this act~~)
and all the scenes in
this act.

The destruction of
the fort (next acc).

The same setting
by slight changes
is converted in the
"Hermitage" (act
six) - by night time



*Original notes and sketches
by Eisenstein for the film Sutter's
Gold, Hollywood, summer
of 1930.*

his lands were often successful, yet the land was worth little after their depredations, and one of his sons was to die in a fire set by disgruntled gold seekers. Finally, Sutter's own moral fiber was weakened by his order that any trespassers on his land were to be shot, only for him to discover that two of those fired on were Indians who had worked for him, and who had feared the gold as much as he. The physical and moral destruction was complete, yet ironic, for the decline of Sutter's fortunes was to coincide closely with the growth of the city of San Francisco as a great metropolis, the symbol of a new philosophical, moral, economic order replacing Sutter's. Irony, in fact, dominated the second half of the script, and was the principal motif used in it. The screenplay was to conclude with Sutter losing his mind, and dying on the steps of a federal courthouse, while awaiting word of the confirmation of his legal victory over those who had ruined his lands. His body would then be swallowed up "by the enormous shadow of the court of justice" which "moves like a black curtain across the steps."²² While the final title was to be accompanied by "the joyous lively song that everybody knows, the song of California,"²³ the tragedy was to have been clear: the complete destruction of Sutter's dream, and the ruination of the dream of California. Kevin Starr has called California a country of the mind,²⁴ and for Eisenstein that was what it had become.

Eisenstein and his associates made detailed financial plans, casting suggestions, set designs, and location studies for the projected film. On the whole, an unusually precise and complete proposal for the film was presented to the studio. Charlie Chaplin recalled that the rumor in Hollywood was that the script was brilliant.²⁵ Paramount, however, rejected it almost immediately: it would be too expensive to produce, and Americans were not interested in history, in any case. These were not the real reasons for

"But there was such an aura of fear cast about me. Everyone seemed frightened to death of what I might do."

the studio's decision, of course: there was Eisenstein's refusal to use the studio's "stars" in his film, his lack of enthusiasm in cooperating with the studio's publicity staff, and a possible political struggle within the Paramount leadership itself. The studio did not approve of the script's moral message — that gold could be a source of destruction in man and nature. To Paramount, it was gold which had created modern California, and the Gold Rush had provided the state with some of its most respected and influential families.

One problem clouded the entire situation: the political climate in Hollywood. Eisenstein touched on this issue in a 1932 interview in New York:

I wanted to make Sutter's Gold . . . They preached box-office to me . . . Nice elderly ladies said Mrs. Sutter should be pictured as a nicer character . . . And the Daughters of Something-or-Other got interested and raised a row . . . A Major Pease and his Blue Shirts said I was a 'Red Dog' . . . And the producers complained that I didn't seem to get sex appeal into my films . . . And the race question entered into my difficulties too, and I don't mean the Negro race . . .²⁶

In fact, this "Major Pease," who identified himself as the head of the Hollywood Technical Directors' Institute, was carrying on a campaign against Eisenstein (whom he called "Hollywood's Messenger From Hell") and against the Paramount management for employing him.²⁷ In Pease's words, Eisenstein, a

"Jewish Bolshevik," had been imported by the "Jews of Paramount" to make a propaganda film.²⁸

Paramount's publicity office did make a continuing effort to defend Eisenstein and the studio from Pease's attacks, but the problem was complicated by Congressman Fish's hearings held in Hollywood in October 1930 to investigate "communist activities" in California. The hearings themselves were ludicrous,²⁹ but they and Pease's activities did increase the tension felt by Eisenstein and Paramount. In addition, on one occasion, Eisenstein had received a phone call telling him he would be kidnapped and hung by the neck from a Joshua tree in the nearby Mojave desert.³⁰ The call was probably made by a crank, and Eisenstein had been the object of threats and scare tactics in Europe and on the American East Coast, yet the Los Angeles police department at this time was notorious for being anti-Semitic, anti-foreign, and anti-radical.³¹ Should some move be taken against him, Eisenstein must have wondered, would the Los Angeles police come to his aid?

It is unlikely, however, that Eisenstein was in any actual personal danger, but the political situation in Southern California was obviously not favorable for a Soviet film director hoping to make a film criticizing any aspect of American life. As the Depression worsened, so too did the chances for any proposal of Eisenstein's to be accepted for production.³² Events moved rapidly after the rejection of the "Sutter's Gold" script. It was agreed that Eisenstein and his assistants would write a script based on Theodore Dreiser's novel, *An American Tragedy*, but before initial preparations could be completed, and after a short meeting with Eisenstein, Paramount announced that the contract tying them together was at an end as of October 23, 1930.³³ The weakening American economy, Major Pease's attacks, and Paramount's realization that Eisenstein would never become a "Hollywood" director, all played impor-

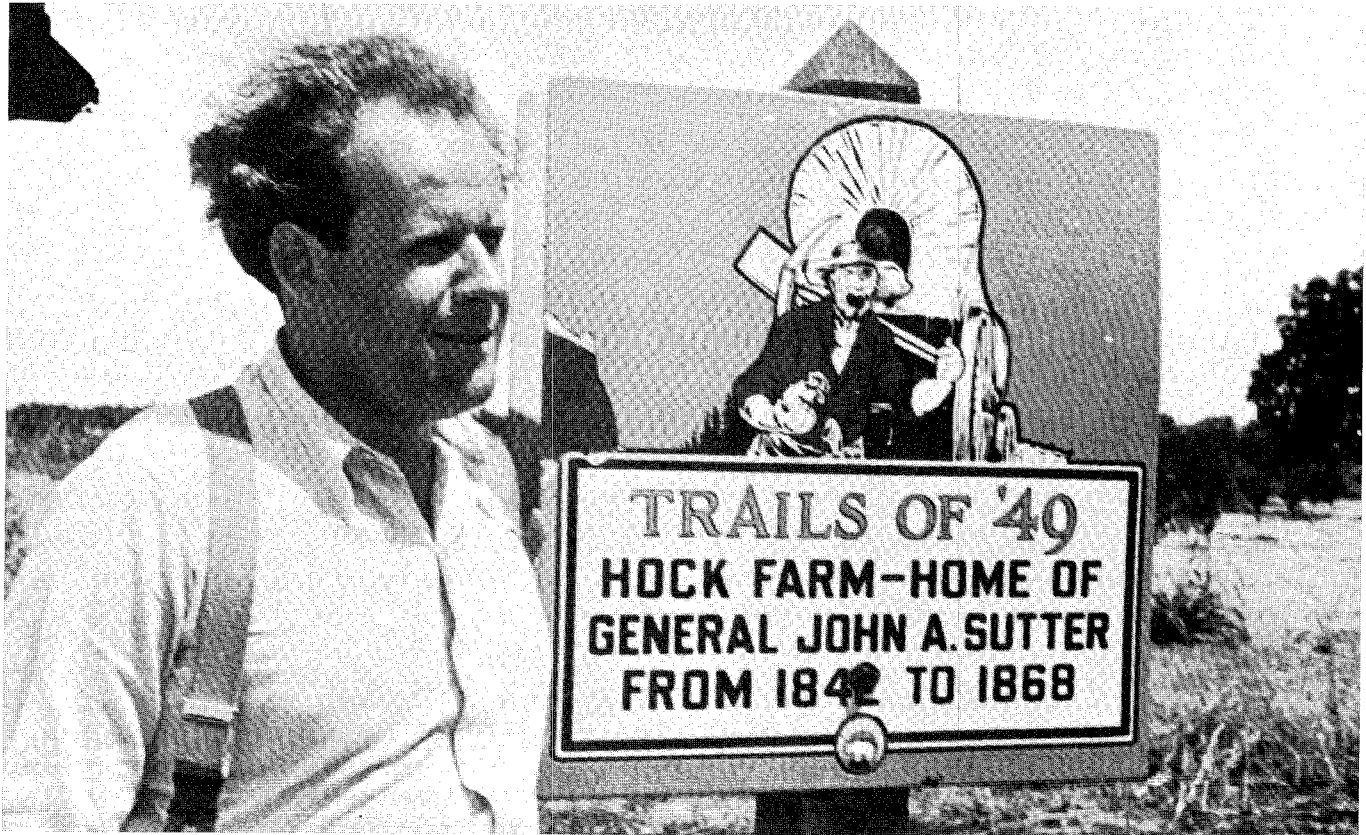
tant roles in producing this outcome.

Eisenstein spent a few more weeks in California to conclude his affairs there. Now referring at times to the state as "Californica,"³⁴ he told one reporter that he had just obtained the Russian rights to Kaufman and Hart's satire on Hollywood, *Once in a Lifetime*, and remarked that "It is a strange place, this Hollywood. . . . Truth, in this instance at least, is stranger than fiction, and far more absurd."³⁵ There were some rumors that Eisenstein might be hired by another film studio, but the gulf between Hollywood's view of motion pictures and Eisenstein's conception of cinema had never been wider,³⁶ and no new contract was signed.

An agreement was reached in Pasadena for Eisenstein to make a film, however. The leftist writer and political aspirant, Upton Sinclair, arranged financing for Eisenstein to travel to Mexico and there make a film based on what he found. While his months in Hollywood had been greatly disappointing to Eisenstein, his Mexican venture would be the foremost creative tragedy of his life, one from which he would never quite recover. A contract was signed in November, and Eisenstein left Los Angeles for Mexico City early in December, perhaps hoping to find in Mexico some semblance of that California lost with the coming of the Gold Rush.

After leaving Hollywood, Eisenstein spent over a year in Mexico, travelling about the country, filming what he found there: ancient pre-Columbian ruins, religious festivals, bullfights, hacienda life, and contemporary Mexican political and military leaders. His contract with Sinclair and the Mexican Film Trust had been to shoot a film in a specified amount of time, then to return to Hollywood to edit the film there. When Eisenstein remained in Mexico considerably longer than the period initially agreed upon, engrossed in his attempt to create a cinematic synthesis of all of Mexican history, Sinclair grew

Eisenstein standing beside Hock Farm sign "Trails of '49."



increasingly weary of the project, and after a lengthy period of wrangling, finally ordered Eisenstein and his film crew back from Mexico in January, 1932. Relations between the two men had reached the point of a final break by the time Eisenstein reached the American border. While the exposed film was all sent on to Los Angeles, Eisenstein and his crew were required to travel to New York and from there back to Europe, with the understanding that the film would be sent on to Moscow for final editing.

Eisenstein never saw more than a small amount of the footage he had shot in Mexico. As a result of his disillusionment with the project, Sinclair refused to send the film, instead disposing of it in ways that

would partially recoup the money he and his friends had invested in it. For Eisenstein, it was the greatest blow of his creative life: he had fallen in love with Mexico (much as he had with the dream of pre-Gold Rush California), and never stopped trying to gain access to the remaining footage — to breathe new life into what he called his “own child.”

Eisenstein’s overall experience in California had not been a good one: he had been frustrated by the studio, disappointed by the technicians and filmmakers he met, concerned by the anti-Soviet agitators. That he would later remember Hollywood with some amusement was certainly flavored by his subsequent greater disappointment in Mexico. Eisen-

stein did make several further public statements about his months in Hollywood. In his final interview in Los Angeles, he said he believed progress was no longer possible in the United States, that here there "are only motor cars and miniature golf courses,"³⁷ the evolution of which he used as a parable for the growth of civilization and for the artificiality of life in Hollywood. Eisenstein was more bitter in 1932: he said to a reporter that Hollywood could produce nothing except "weak, melodramatic shams" and that, "by unusual, Hollywood in its reverse manner merely meant commonplace. In other words, they wanted a picture with my name on it but they were shivering with fear at what I might do to upset their organization."³⁸

Eisenstein's final public statements on Hollywood came in 1933, in an article in Moscow's *International Literature*. More critical than he had ever been before, he recounted his difficulties with Paramount, noted the overwhelming importance of money in the American film industry, and the fact that it was businessmen rather than artists who ran the film studios. He summarized the options open to European directors who went to Hollywood:

In general the guest is faced by two dilemmas: to forget personality and convictions, climb the golden merry-go-round and merrily turn out merry products without taking things too seriously — like Lubitsch; or take the tragic view of things and leave the promised land like Reinhardt.³⁹

While he admitted that technologically Hollywood had no equal, he saw Hollywood's greatest weakness in its lack of striving for originality. In different words, he repeated what he had told a *Los Angeles Times* reporter in 1932:

I have no complaints to make. Everyone treated me with the greatest of respect. But there was such an aura of fear cast about me. Everyone seemed frightened to death of

what I might do. And it wasn't that I was a Russian, or a Bolshevik. It was that I might want to do something new, or in a different way. They seemed to be afraid of new things. . . .⁴⁰

To Eisenstein, this was the most damning comment he could make on his Hollywood experience.

The transformation of California by Sutter, the spoliation accompanying the Gold Rush, the new political and social system that grew out of it — for Eisenstein, these all culminated in the artificial, suspicious, timid, "miniature-golf" civilization he came to know in Hollywood in 1930. Eisenstein's dream of a California Arcadia soured in Hollywood and eventually became tragedy in Mexico. He never returned to either of them.

The photograph on page 195 is courtesy of Paramount Pictures Corporation. All others are from the Library, Special Collections, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Notes

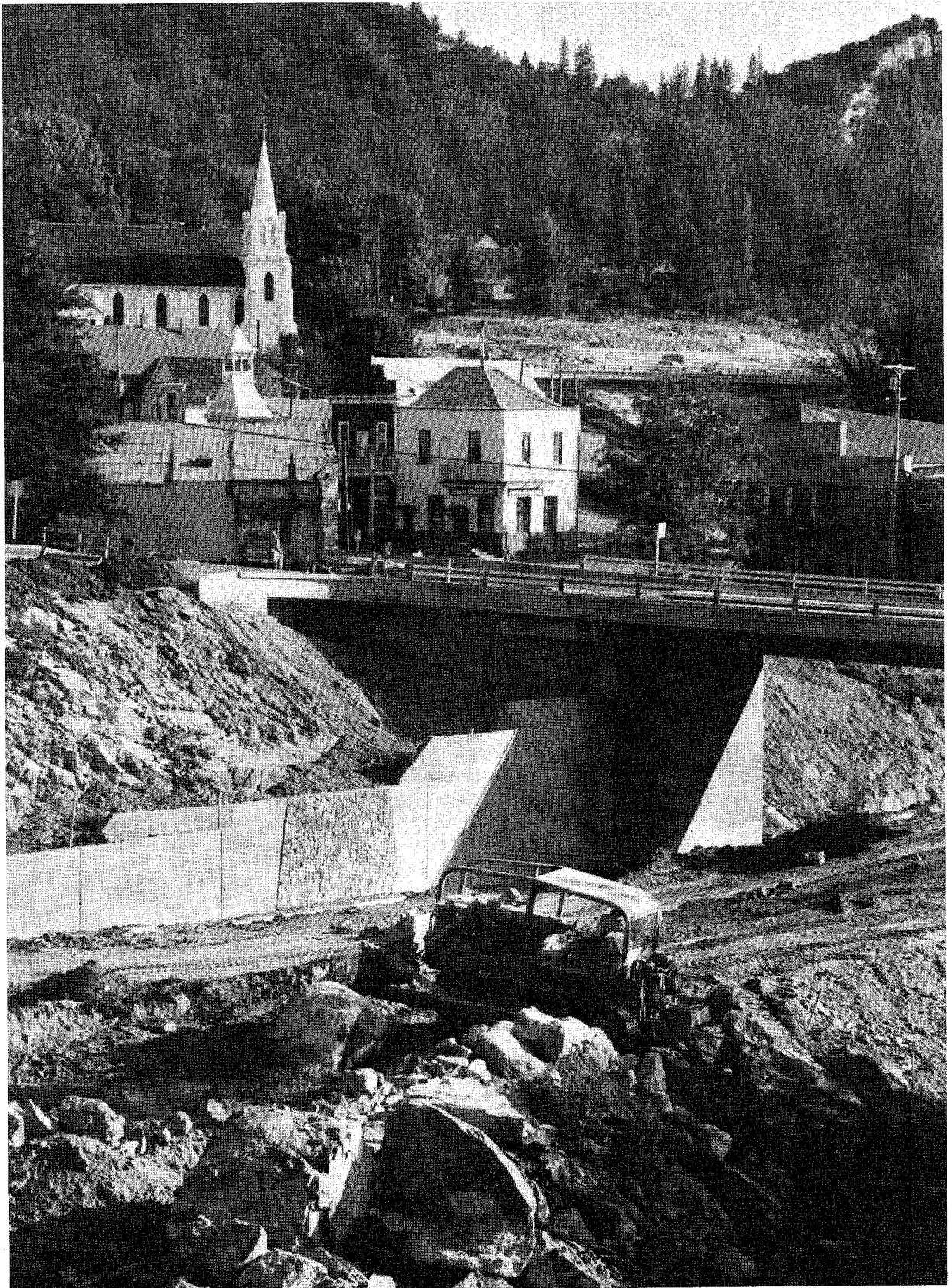
1. On Eisenstein's earlier interest in Hollywood, see Léon Moussinac, *Sergei Eisenstein*, translated by D. Sandy Petry (New York, 1970), p. 47; and Sergei Eisenstein, "Mass Movies," *The Nation*, V. 125 #3253 (November 9, 1927), p. 507.
2. For Eisenstein's understanding of the agreement, see Moussinac, *Eisenstein*, pp. 47-8; and "M. Eisenstein Here," *The New York Times* (May 18, 1930), pp. x-5.
3. Yon Barna, *Eisenstein*, translated by Lise Hunter (Bloomington, 1973), p. 150.
4. On the various film topics discussed, see Barna, *Eisenstein*, pp. 149, 152, 155.
5. For details (and a number of amusing anecdotes) on all this, see Ivor Montagu, *With Eisenstein in Hollywood* (New York, 1969), *passim*.
6. Nathanael West, *The Day of the Locust* (New York, 1939), especially pp. 3-4: . . . not even the soft wash of dusk could help the houses. Only dynamite would be of any use against the Mexican

ranch houses, Samoan huts, Mediterranean villas, Egyptian and Japanese temples, Swiss chalets, Tudor cottages, and every possible combination of these styles that lined the slopes of the canyon.

When he noticed that they were all of plaster, lath and paper, he was charitable and blamed their shape on the materials used. Steel, stone and brick curb a builder's fancy a little, forcing him to distribute his stresses and weights and to keep his corners plumb, but plaster and paper knew no law, not even that of gravity.

On the corner of La Huerta Road was a miniature Rhine castle with tarpaper turrets pierced for archers. Next to it was a highly colored shack with domes and minarets out of the Arabian Nights.

7. Salka Viertel, *The Kindness of Strangers* (New York, 1969), p. 145.
8. See Eisenstein's letter to Moussinac in Moussinac, *Eisenstein*, p. 53.
9. Barna, *Eisenstein*, p. 154.
10. Published first by Grasset in Paris in 1925 as *L'Or*, and in New York as *Sutter's Gold* (1927).
11. Jay Bochner, *Blaise Cendrars: Discovery and Recreation* (Toronto, 1978).
12. Bochner comments at length on this; see Bochner, *Cendrars*, p. 151.
13. See Viktor Shklovskii, *Eizenshtein* (Moscow, 1976), p. 191 ff.
14. All references (unless otherwise indicated) to the script for "Sutter's Gold" are from Montagu, *With Eisenstein*; here, p. 159. In another version of the script, kept at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, Eisenstein described the scene as being "very George Bellows."
15. For an example of this, see Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, pp. 50-51.
16. See Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 83.
17. Eisenstein had summarized his position on sound in a speech at UCLA; see *Rob Wagner's Script*, V. III #78 (August 9, 1930), p. 17.
18. Examples of this are present throughout the screenplay; perhaps one of the best of these is the sequence depicting Sutter's wild galloping to his burning Hock Farm: the action would show only Sutter and his horse, but the sound would be that of the crackling of a large fire. See *Synopsis and Arrangement of Scenes for Sutter's Gold*, signed by Sergei Eisenstein, in the Eisenstein archive at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.
19. Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 108.
20. Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 180. One is reminded here of Eisenstein's own disappointment when he traveled to "Tia Juana" in order to see the "real" Mexico he had read and heard about; see Morris Helprin, "Eisenstein's New Film," *The New York Times* (November 29, 1931), p. 6.
21. Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 180. This image is remarkably similar to one in Aleksandr Dovzhenko's contemporaneous film, "Earth;" Eisenstein almost certainly had not seen Dovzhenko's film at this time and may have been inspired by a trip he took through the peach orchards around Selma, California.
22. Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 205. From its description, this scene is reminiscent of the final scene in "Battleship Potemkin," when the prow of the ship covers the screen like some great curtain, not falling, but rising.
23. Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 206.
24. Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream* (New York, 1973).
25. Charles Chaplin, *My Autobiography* (New York, 1964), p. 323.
26. *Time* (May 2, 1932), p. 24.
27. For examples of the Pease attacks, see: *Exhibitors Herald World* (June 28, 1930), p. 11; *Rob Wagner's Script*, V. III #72 (June 28, 1930), p. 1.
28. Marie Seton, *Sergei M. Eisenstein* (New York, 1960), p. 168.
29. See Conrad Seiler, "The Red Mongers Go West," *The New Republic*, LXIV (November 12, 1930), pp. 347-348.
30. Seton, *Eisenstein*, p. 174.
31. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York, 1946), p. 291.
32. "Sutter's Gold" was made into a film in 1936 by James Cruze for Universal.
33. See Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 120.
34. Seton, *Eisenstein*, p. 165.
35. "Beau Geste," *Outlook and Independent*, CLVI (November 12, 1930), p. 406. One bit of dialog in the play which must have amused Eisenstein comes from a frustrated German director who is in Hollywood to direct a film for a local studio: "What a country! Oh, to be in Russia with Eisenstein!" George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart, *Six Plays by Kaufman and Hart* (New York, 1942), p. 61.
36. It was at this time that Eisenstein had his now famous meeting with Sam Goldwyn, during which Goldwyn suggested to Eisenstein that he might make something like "Potemkin," "but rather cheaper, for Ronald Coleman." See Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 122.
37. "Eisenstein says 'Adios'," *Los Angeles Times* (December 7, 1930), III:1.
38. "Why Soviet's Film Genius Went Home," *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (May 10, 1932).
39. Sergei Eisenstein, "The Cinema in America," translated by S.D. Kogan, *International Literature*, 1933 #3, p. 104.
40. *Los Angeles Times* (April 26, 1932), quoted in Harry M. Geduld and Ronald Gottesman, editors, *Sergei Eisenstein and Upton Sinclair: The Making and Unmaking of Que Viva Mexico!* (Bloomington, 1970), pp. 319-320.



"Calamity Cut" in Nevada City during the reconstruction of Highway 49/20 in 1967.

Highway Planning In California's Mother Lode

The region from Mariposa to Sierra City on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada attracted the attention of the world when its fabulously rich gold resources were first discovered in 1848. The events surrounding these first discoveries and the great immigration that followed still awe and even mystify the modern inquirer. The surface evidence of this important era in California history remains in isolated areas of the Mother Lode¹ in the form of deserted stamp mills, eroded hillsides, and man-made tunnels and canals. The intensive placer, hydraulic, and drift mining activities of nineteenth century pioneers often left permanent scars upon the land. Some of the more hospitable relics of the gold rush era — the mining towns with their saloons,

The Changing Townscape of Auburn and Nevada City

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The author wishes to acknowledge the following persons for their critical review of various drafts of this article: Dr. Jean Clause, Professor of History, Golden Gate University; Professor Thomas Dickert, Departments of City Planning and Landscape Architecture, University of California, Berkeley; Ms. Marilyn Ziebarth, former editor of *California History*; Ms. Susan Naughton, Woodward-Clyde Consultants, San Francisco, and special thanks to his wife Cecilia for her encouragement.



The Henry Stone Home, one of the few early clapboard houses in old Auburn to survive the town's many fires, was razed by the highway department in the 1950s.

Auburn's "Four corners," photographed in 1934 for the Historic American Building Survey is now the site of Interstate 80.



hotels and clapboard and brick dwellings — survived temporarily only to be destroyed or devalued by the progress of the twentieth century. With the advent of the automobile and the subsequent construction of superhighways, asphalt, neon, and gimcrack architecture have invaded the Mother Lode, either replacing the earlier structures or debasing what remains.

No single force has undermined the integrity of this region as has the highway. The construction of major highways such as Highway 49 and Interstate 80 has wreaked havoc to many of the Mother Lode's historic communities where conscientious planning and coordination between local, state, and the federal government could have prevented it. Previous highway planning efforts paid little attention to historical and other cultural resources either because of a lack of concern or from a conscious desire to make highways more accessible to local business establishments. The colossal engineering efforts employed in the construction of Interstate 5 through a low-lying area of Sacramento, for example, and the demolition of much of the historic old city could have been avoided had the state followed its original plans to build the highway on the opposite side of the Sacramento River. Past decisions to build or improve thoroughfares directly through historic parts of Sacramento, Grass Valley, Nevada City, and Auburn did not always reflect the necessity for such highway alignments but often a desire to further development interests in those locations.

The construction of U.S. Highway 40 in 1947 and its upgrading to freeway standards in 1957 dealt a major setback to Auburn's historic resources from which it can never recover. Although alternative routes were available, the California Division of Highways chose to build its highway directly through Auburn's historic district, leveling gold rush structures and covering important mining sites. Fol-

lowing much the same path as the nineteenth century Illinoistown road, Interstate 80 plowed through Auburn's "four corners" eliminating nearly half of the historic old town. The *Placer Herald* office, a two-story brick structure, built in 1855, was one of the most significant buildings razed by the highway department. The *Placer Herald*, first published by R. Rust and T. Mitchell on September 11, 1852, is the oldest weekly newspaper of continuous publication in the state.² Across from the *Herald* office, the Auburn Firehouse, built in 1892, was moved 150 feet south and was one of the only structures adjacent to the highway that was saved.³

The Henry Stone home, a two-story clapboard cottage built in 1856 near the Auburn Ravine, was one of several private dwellings that was taken for the highway. Further up the Auburn Ravine near Cross Street, an assay lab was razed.⁴ Much of the ravine from the present western city limit to Nevada Street was put in a culvert and paved over. The Auburn Ravine and others in the immediate vicinity were extensively mined for gold beginning in 1848 spurring the development of the town in that location.

The Orleans Hotel, a gold rush hostelry, and Gordon's Grocery and Hardware, both built in 1852, were also condemned and torn down for the highway. The Orleans Hotel, originally located on Washington Street, was moved to the corner of Main and Court streets in 1864.⁵ Gordon's Grocery was one of several gold rush structures in Auburn with a rounded street facade. The block originally occupied by these two buildings now contains a Shell service station. Unfortunately, highway construction often spurs heavy commercial buildup on surrounding properties. Strip commercial development along Highway 50 in Placerville and along other highways in the region has overrun many of the gold country's historic areas.

*"Beer direct from the Faucet"—Passersby
are invited into the Round Corner in
Auburn shown here in 1934 along with the
Orleans Hotel to the left.*

Nevada City is an example of a gold rush community literally dissected by modern "improvements." The "Gold Run Freeway," a combination of State Highways 49 and 20, was constructed through the center of the town in 1967. With the support of the Nevada City Council, the State Division of Highways created a man-made gorge through the town's center leaving the remaining groups of historic structures isolated on the surrounding hillsides.⁶ "Calamity Cut," as freeway opponents once called it, stands today as an affront to principles of enlightened highway planning. It is ironic that since the state legislature recommended that Highway 49 be designated a state scenic highway in 1963,⁷ the California Department of Transportation (CalTrans) has irrevocably destroyed many significant resources within that corridor.

Highway 49 and 20 now enters Nevada City from the south and crosses Gold Run Creek near its intersection with Sacramento Street. The highway then follows Deer Creek and passes under Broad Street between the town plaza and the National Exchange Hotel. After curving around Ott's Assay Office on Main Street the highway turns north following the course of Manzanita Creek between Coyote and High streets.

The most dramatic effect of the freeway in Nevada City is the barrier it creates to east-west access across town. The plaza was traditionally the center of Nevada City as Broad and Main streets entered from the west and Boulder and Sacramento streets from the east and south. Main Street, south of Union Street, was eliminated and access to the plaza was cut off. The Union Hotel, the Union and National livery and feed stables, several saloons, hardware stores, and an undertaker's office formerly occupied the portions of Main and Broad streets eliminated by the freeway.

The Grass Valley-Nevada City district has been

one of the most productive gold mining areas in the state, even more productive than the Sonora vein which runs between Mariposa and Georgetown.⁸ In his *History of California*, Hubert Howe Bancroft presents the following account of the formation of Nevada City and early mining activities:

Nevada stands forward preeminently [as] a mining county . . . Nevada City, which had an early start, . . . was in March 1850 organized as a town, and subsequently as a city, with the dignity of county seat. All around rose flourishing camps, especially along Deer and Brush creeks, the latter yielding within a few years some \$3,000,000. There were the hills of Selby, Phelps, Oregon, Coyote, Lost, Wet, and American, the latter famous as the scene of Matteson's first hydraulic venture; the flats known as Gold, Thomas, and Selby; the rich Gold Run where claims sold in April 1850 at from \$5,000 to \$18,000; Gold Tunnel sold in March 1851 for \$130,000.⁹

On the banks of Deer Creek and Gold Run the miners struck some of the richest and most famous diggings in California.¹⁰ The surviving brick, stone, and wood structures of the pioneer days, which blend so well with the natural landscape of the Sierra foothills, stand as mute evidence of the early development of what is now called industrial minerals.

Two buildings along Main Street are typical of the early brick architecture of Nevada City. Ott's Assay Office, built in 1851, processed much of the gold mined locally and is also credited with assaying the first ore taken from the Comstock Lode.¹¹ The South Yuba Canal Office, next door, built a 16-mile canal including a 3200-foot tunnel at a cost of \$350,000,¹² which later provided a practically inexhaustible supply of water to the town and nearby mines. These buildings, along with the National Exchange Hotel, are now included in the National Register of Historic Places and fall within an historic district created by the city in 1968 shortly after the freeway construction.



The following observations of Nevada City, written in 1948 for the Division of Mines, described the charm of the old town, yet foretold its vulnerability to modern changes.

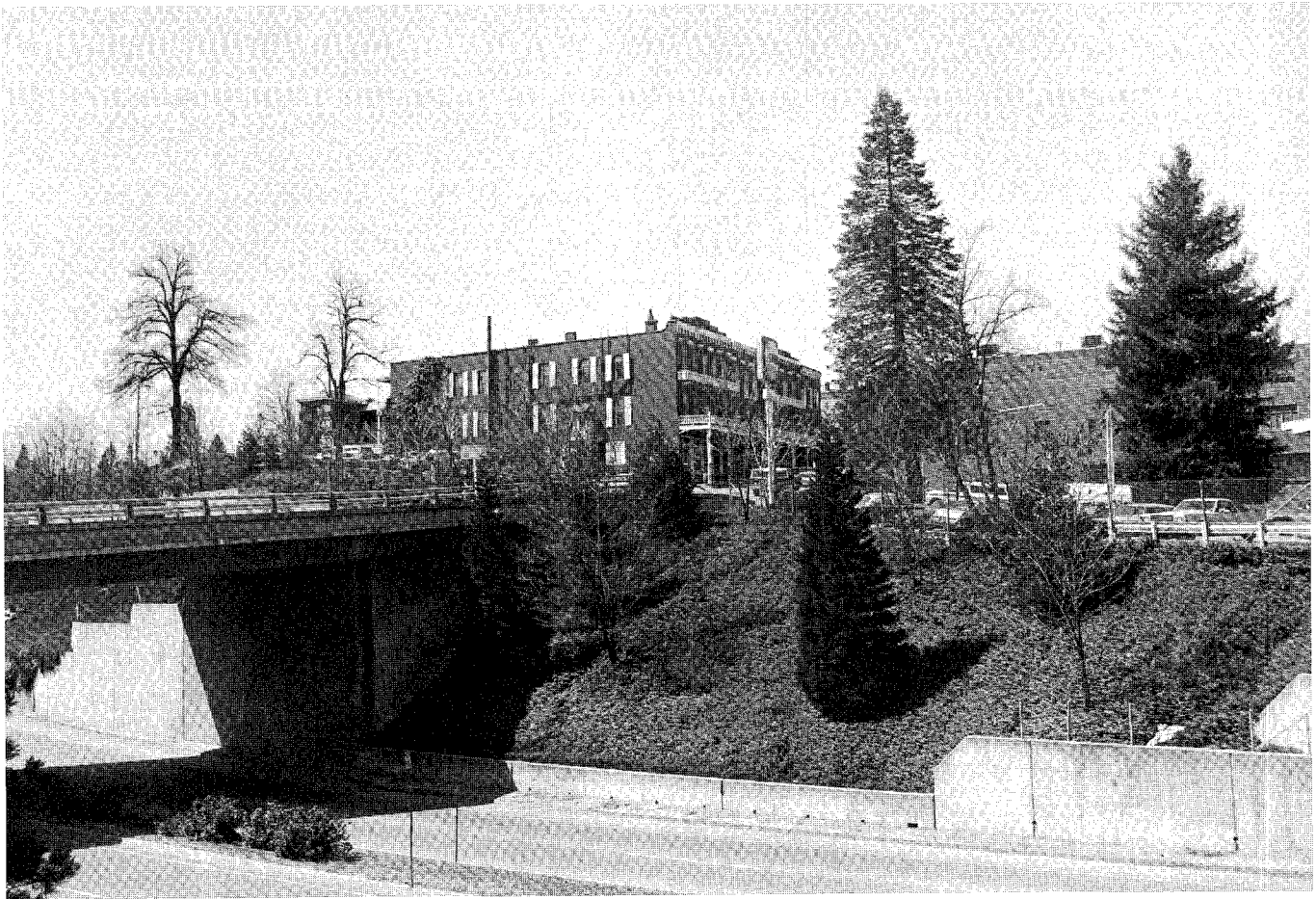
Like many other settlements in the Mother Lode, Nevada City has acquired a surface veneer of modern life, but has still not lost the peculiar charm which pervades these century-old towns. This charm derives from and persists by reason of the old buildings which still form the physical core of present business activities. Nevada City, like its age-mates farther south and north, is a holdover, a tarriant, from the booming 'fifties. And not until the brick and stone buildings are torn down and the towns laid out with a view to convenience will they lose their particular flavor — the Mother Lode town is something unique, and something with universal appeal.¹³

Although much of Nevada City's old town remains today, the freeway and resultant disruption of existing street patterns and vistas detract from the via-

bility and attractiveness of the historic quarter. Even the increased convenience alluded to above has not been achieved, since the freeway simply links two towns less than ten miles apart on an otherwise two-lane highway.

It was in the field of transportation that Congress first provided laws inhibiting and prohibiting the destruction of historic sites in federally financed construction programs. This is not surprising since the federal-aid highway program had generated some of the more noteworthy problems regarding historic preservation. Before 1966 federal legislation provided limited protection to some sites under the Antiquities Act of 1906 and the Historic Sites Act of 1935; however, both acts did little to protect privately owned properties or to restrain destruction of sites by the federal government itself.¹⁴

The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and the Department of Transportation Act (DOT



Act), enacted by Congress in 1966, both addressed the problem of historic preservation in federal or federally assisted undertakings. In addition to establishing a National Register of Historic Places, which includes districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, and culture, the NHPA ensures that when registered properties are threatened by federal or federally assisted undertakings, such projects will be subject to special review and comment. Section 106 of the NHPA directs the Secretary of Transportation to take into account the effect of any DOT-licensed or funded undertaking on National Register properties and to afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation a reasonable opportunity to comment.

In the Department of Transportation Act, Congress declared that special effort be made to preserve the natural beauty of the countryside and public park and recreation lands, wildlife and waterfowl refuges, and historic sites. The Federal Aid Highway Act of

1968 clarified this policy and amended section 4(f) of the DOT Act to read, in part,

... the Secretary of Transportation shall not approve any program which requires the use of . . . any land from an historic site of national, state, or local significance as determined by the Federal, State, or local officials having jurisdiction thereof unless (1) there is no feasible and prudent alternative to the use of such land, and (2) such program includes all possible planning to minimize harm to such . . . historic site resulting from such use.¹⁵

The DOT Act thus goes beyond the scope of Section 106 of the NHPA to protect not only historic sites included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register but also sites determined to be of historic significance by State and local officials.

Historic preservation is also given due consideration in federally assisted public works projects as a result of the National Environmental Policy Act enacted in 1969. In the draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) the federal agency must identify properties included in or eligible for inclusion in the

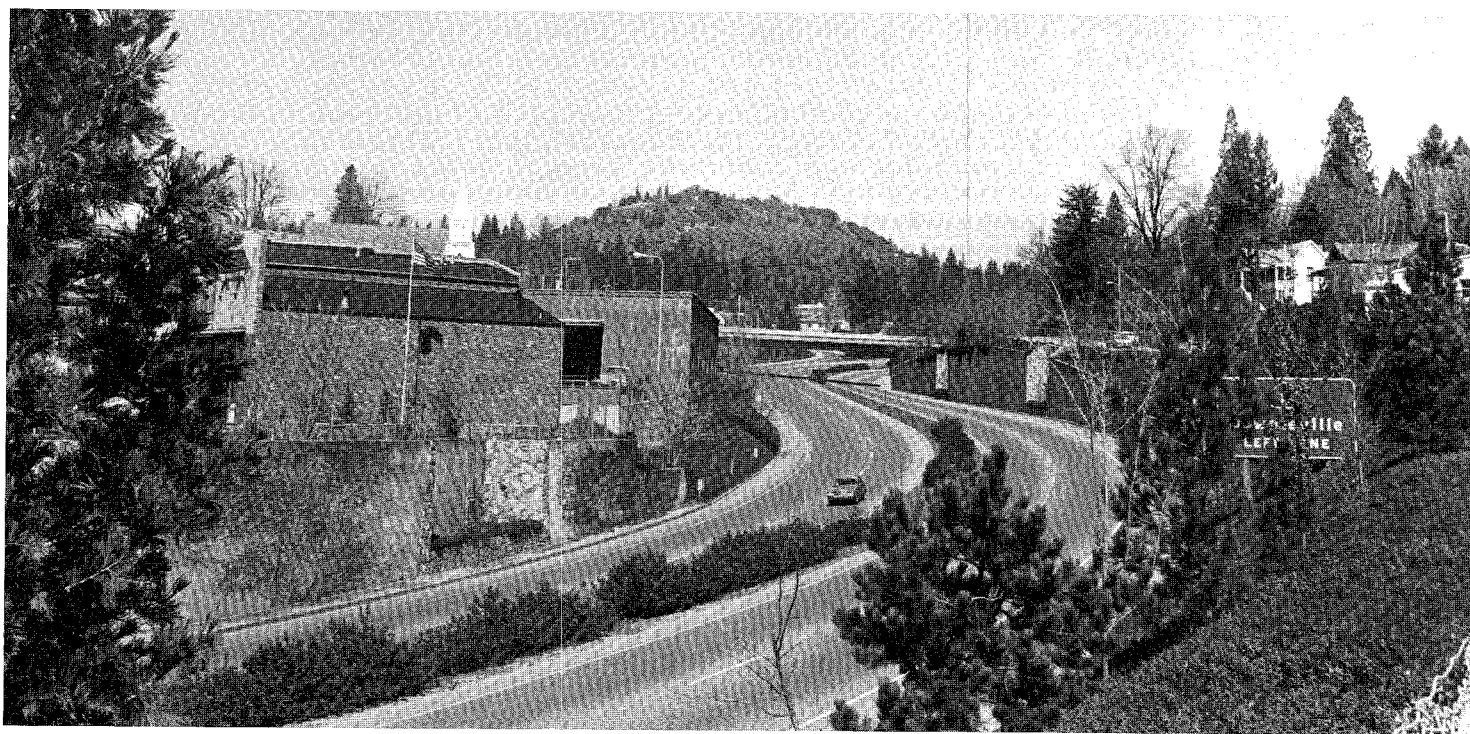
The National Exchange Hotel in Nevada City was included in the National Register of Historic Places shortly after freeway construction.

National Register and provide evidence of coordination with the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) concerning the identification of such properties and the evaluation of effect.¹⁶

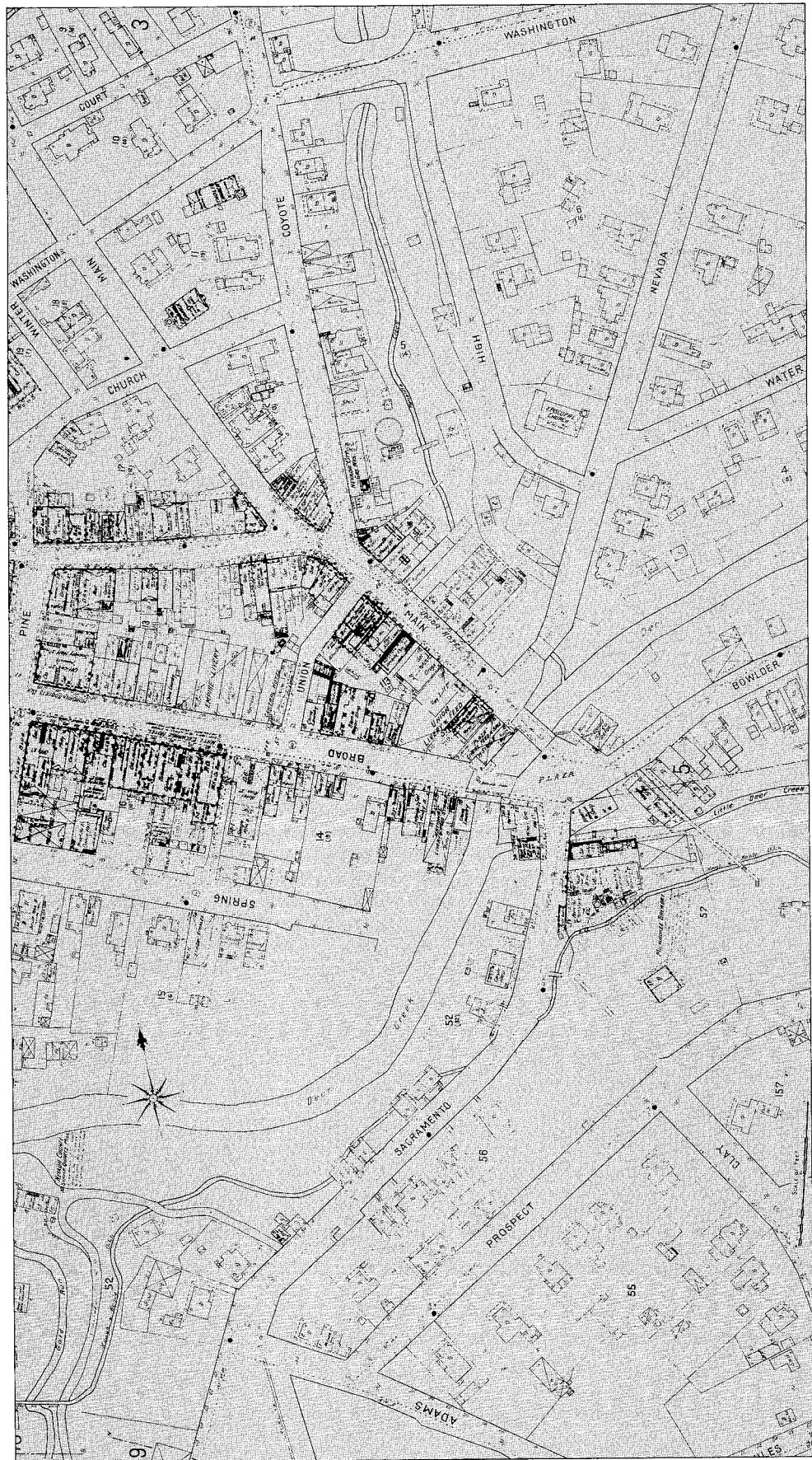
CalTrans began planning the reconstruction of Interstate 80 through the community of Auburn in the mid-1960s prior to the development of environmental assessment requirements. A freeway agreement with the City of Auburn was executed in 1966, and preliminary designs were drawn. Project delays forced CalTrans to prepare an Environmental Impact Statement to conform with recently passed state and federal legislation.¹⁷ Although a draft EIS was prepared in 1973, and the City of Auburn had agreed on a compromise design, the project was postponed. CalTrans has resumed negotiations with the city and

hopes to obtain environmental approval in 1981 and begin construction by 1983. Under existing regulations, CalTrans must evaluate historical and cultural resources prior to environmental approval and mitigate any adverse impacts.

Several important historic sites, structures, and districts, many of which are included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register, are within the two-mile project area. "Historic Old Auburn," a thirty-seven acre historic district, is directly east of Interstate 80. Accepted to the National Register in 1970, the district contains structures dating from the mid-nineteenth century. "Historic Old Auburn" is also listed by the State of California as an historical landmark.¹⁸ In determining the impact of the proposed construction on these historical resources and



A compromise between highway planners and historians resulted in this curve of the freeway around Ott's Assay Office (left).



Highway Planning

others within the highway corridor, federal, state and local officials will be testing the ability of government to effectively incorporate preservation objectives into the highway planning process.

During the California gold rush, Auburn's rich dry diggings and unique location caused it to become a trading center and transportation hub for a vast mining region.¹⁹ The town of Auburn was built around the ravines that intersected near the present Southern Pacific Railroad bridge over Interstate 80. In July 1849, William Gwynn and H.M. House started trading posts and a considerable population began to accumulate.²⁰ The name of the settlement was changed from North Fork Dry Diggings to Auburn in the Fall of 1849. Some controversy surrounds the final naming of the town, but many attribute the origin to a popular poem by Oliver Goldsmith. In "Deserted Village," Goldsmith described an idyllic village on a plain.²¹ The pioneers at a meeting in Gwynn's store sarcastically named Auburn after this village because its rocky hills and ravines presented such a diametrically different setting.²²

Auburn was the center of five main wagon roads in the period following the gold rush. Roads led from Auburn across the Forest Hill Ridge to Yankee Jim's and Forest Hill. This toll road, built and maintained with private monies, was called the Auburn and Yankee Jim's Turnpike. Another route led from Sacramento through Auburn to Illinoistown with a branch crossing the Bear River and leading to Grass Valley and Nevada City. The Auburn Ravine Turnpike, also a private toll road, followed the Auburn Ravine from the plaza west to Ophir and Virginiatown. The fifth wagon route followed the ridge south to Folsom.²³ In 1860, Auburn was linked by stage lines to the Sacramento, Placer and Nevada Railroad which terminated five miles from town. The Central Pacific Railroad began service to Auburn on May 22, 1865 with the local depot northeast of

the old town. In 1881, Auburn continued to supply the towns and mining camps along the Forest Hill Divide with supplies and handled most of Placer County's gold export. "The total amount of gold-dust, coin and currency shipped through Wells Fargo & Co.'s Express Auburn during the year 1881 was \$434,635. Of this amount \$281,379 was gold-dust."²⁴

Claude Chana, a Frenchman who immigrated to Placer County by wagon train in 1846, is credited with the first discovery of gold in the Auburn Ravine on May 16, 1848.²⁵ While camping en route to visit his friend James Marshall at Coloma, Chana and a group of French and Indians found gold in the ravines near Auburn and panned there for three weeks. The Auburn Ravine from Ophir east to Auburn and the other ravines which converged near the town plaza in Auburn were among the richest dry diggings in the state. Placerville, once known as Hangtown, also contained dry diggings that rivaled the value of those near Auburn and Ophir.²⁶ Most of the first gold mines in California were sites where gold was panned or gathered in sluice boxes and long toms either from dried stream beds (dry diggings) or from bars along the rivers. This gold had collected in crevices called placers in the bedrock of the stream or river. Later when these sources were exhausted, more costly operations including hydraulic mining, river diversion, and tunneling were undertaken.

During the years 1848 to 1857 many of the gold rush pioneers worked the rich dry diggings in and near Auburn. After Chana's party left in June 1848, Nicholas Algier and a group of Indians panned in the Auburn Ravine and took out a large amount of gold. Samuel Seabough in a sketch entitled, "The Beginning of Placer Mining in California," wrote, "In the Dry Diggings near Auburn during the month of August 1848, one man got \$16,000 out of five cartloads of dirt. In the same diggings a good many were

collecting from \$800 to \$1,500 per day.”²⁷

Hiram R. Hawkins, writing in the *Directory of the County of Placer for the Year 1861*, told of his visit to the region in the first days of July 1849. He wrote, “The ravines which converged in what is now the plaza showed signs of having been wrought to some extent during the previous rainy season” (winter of 1848–1849).²⁸ Buildings were constructed so close to the rich ravines that later shop owners often undermined the structures and retrieved substantial amounts of gold.²⁹ It was once common for horses to kick up gold nuggets in the streets of Auburn’s town plaza.³⁰

The Chinese had a substantial impact on the early development of Auburn. In 1852 nearly thirty per-

cent of Placer County’s population were natives of China.³¹ Many of the county’s Chinese immigrants settled on upper Sacramento Street near Brewery Lane in Auburn. Two of their gold rush structures built in 1855 remain today — the Joss House, used for religious worship and the Mercantile Building, an impressive brick structure with a stepped, false front above its first story. In addition to their settlement in Auburn, the Chinese founded a sizable colony north of Newcastle near Secret Ravine. This gold rush town, called China Town, contained many false front buildings along an avenue of large cottonwoods and survived until the late 1950s when it was razed for the construction of Interstate 80.³²

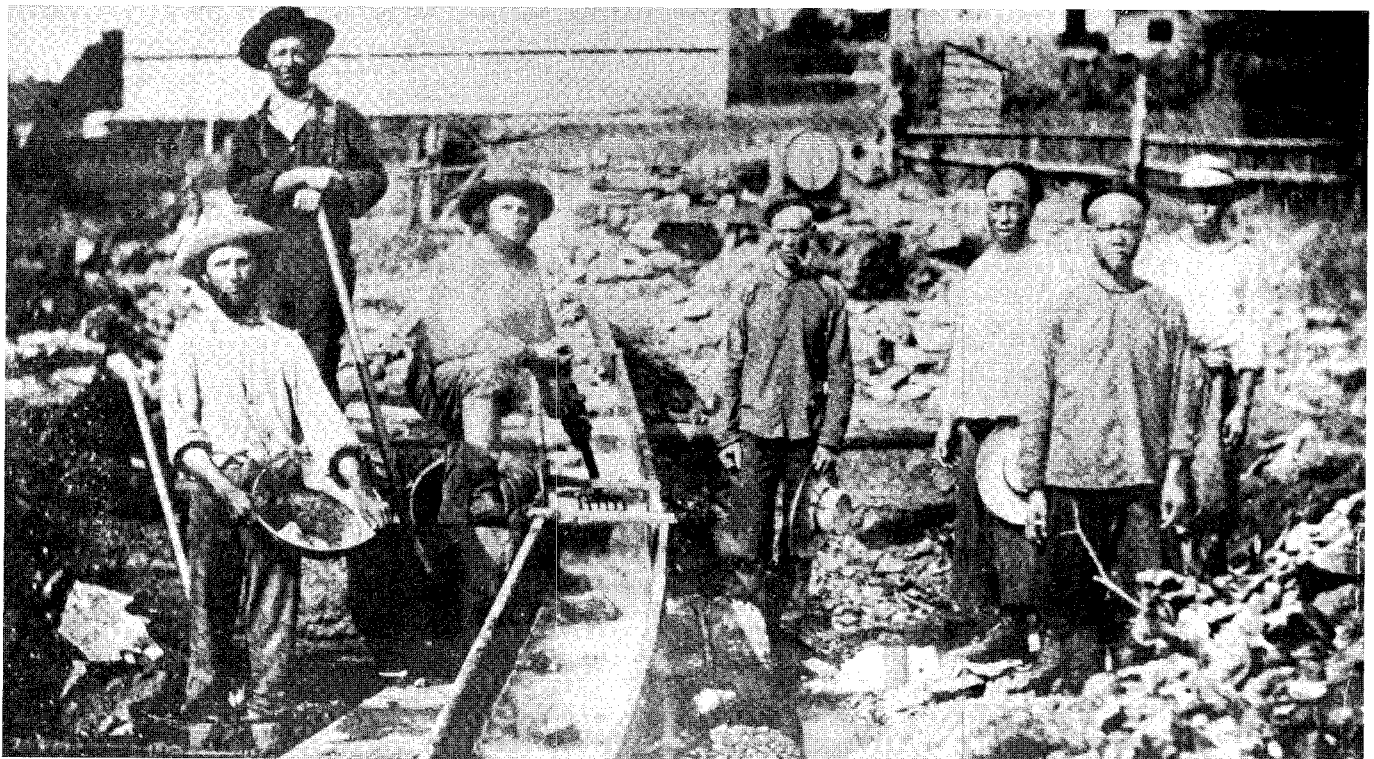




Captioned, "The Heathen Chinees Prospecting, California 1852," this photograph shows evidence of discrimination at the mines.

OPPOSITE: A daguerreotype taken in 1852 in the Auburn Ravine provides a rare glimpse of a woman in the gold fields.

Captioned "Head of Auburn Ravine, 1852," this daguerreotype shows white and Chinese miners sluicing near Auburn's town plaza.



Buildings along Commercial Street in Auburn – the Placer County Courthouse is visible in the upper right background.



A Chinese cemetery shows signs of recent vandalism as do other Chinese cemeteries throughout the Mother Lode. Many of the Chinese who died in California had come here to make their fortunes and had intended to return to their homeland. Many made arrangements to have their remains dug up after a decade or so and shipped back to China.³³ The practice was common in Auburn and was carried out for many years following the gold rush.³⁴ Though the Chinese worked the gold mines alongside the American and European miners, they were often

driven from the diggings by a combination of physical violence and a foreign miners' tax.³⁵

The first buildings constructed around the ravines in Auburn's town plaza were of primitive cloth, frame, and log design. During the early 1850s, clapboard and brick structures appeared.³⁶ In April 1855, the editor of the *Placer Herald* noted that because of the dense placement of buildings around the plaza the town was especially susceptible to fire. He warned his readers that, "by reason of our numerous Chinese population, we are particularly liable."³⁷ A fire on

June 4, 1855, that reportedly began in Auburn's Chinatown, destroyed most of the town.³⁸

One of the few buildings that survived this fire was a brick grocery and hardware store, called the Round Corner, at the intersection of Main and Commercial streets. The building was designed to be fireproof and was completed shortly before the fire. Robert Gordon, the proprietor and a native of Ireland, prevented a group of townspeople from rebuilding the town at Rich Flat, a mining site southeast of town.³⁹ A second major fire occurred in Auburn in 1859 causing several hundred thousand dollars in damages. By 1890 over half of Auburn's commercial buildings were stone or masonry, a testament to the previous fires.

Auburn began the Gay Nineties with many of its post-gold rush structures intact. Much of the town's activities centered around the "four corners," where Placer Road intersected Nevada Street. A toll bridge, constructed in 1855 at a cost of \$328, spanned the Auburn and Rich ravines west of the four corners.⁴⁰ Auburn's town center was a terminus of teaming, staging, and express operations, servicing the more isolated parts of Placer County and the surrounding region. Within the town center were the post office, the Wells Fargo Express Office, and various banks. About nine livery, saddlery, carriage, and wagon shops serviced the prevalent transportation form of the day — the horse and wagon. Many hotels built during the gold rush continued to flourish at the turn-of-the-century as Auburn became a renowned health resort and agricultural center.⁴¹ The most notable of these hotels, the Orleans, Empire, and American, were located along Washington and Main streets. Auburn's last major fire occurred in July 1905 and destroyed the Empire Hotel, the city hall, and a music hall.

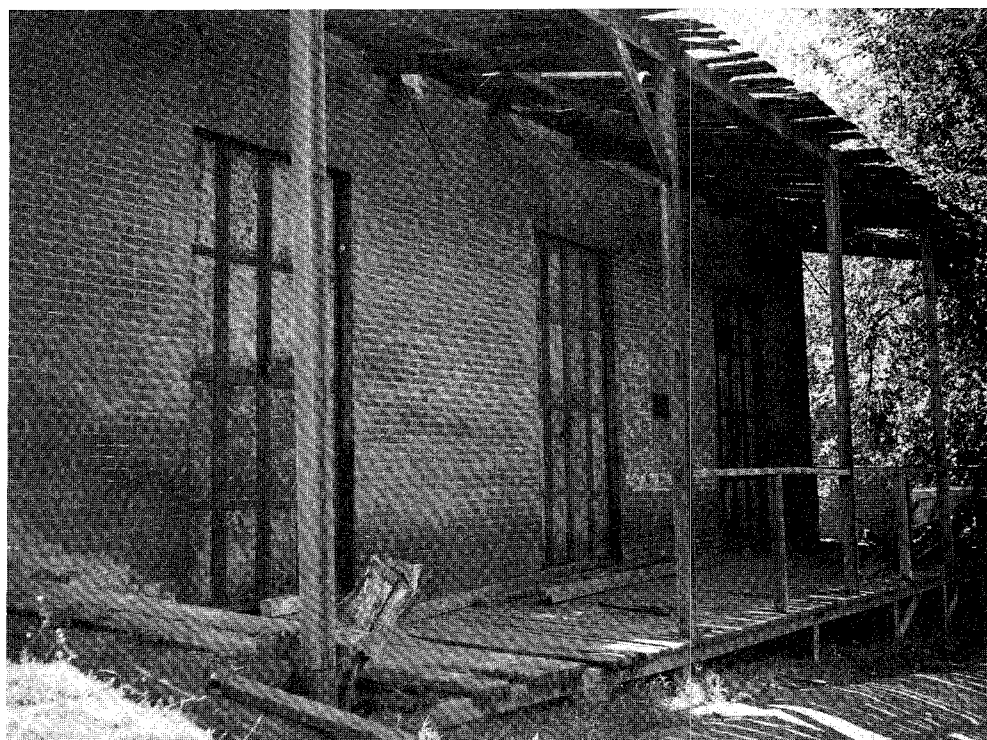
Among the hundreds of mining camps born during the California gold rush, Auburn is one of only a

few that have remained economically viable to the present day. Because of this unique position, many of Auburn's historic structures have been adapted for modern use. Even though Auburn experienced three major fires, its townspeople rebuilt what was lost and retained pride in the town's cultural heritage.

As the population of California grew and the use of the automobile became widespread, state and federal highway authorities sought to span the country with major highways. The original construction of Interstate 80 and the adjacent commercial development that followed eliminated a significant portion of Auburn's old town. A proposed reconstruction of Interstate 80 through Auburn would require the widening of a 2.1 mile section of highway from four to six lanes and the addition of modern interchanges and access roads. CalTrans recently upgraded the highway on both sides of Auburn creating a bottleneck traffic situation during peak hours. Although some improvements to the highway may be necessary, proposed designs would sacrifice more of the town's resources than it would receive in benefits.

A portion of "Historic Old Auburn," would be taken to improve egress from the highway into the town. Less than one acre of land in the district will be required to convert Maple Street, now a city street, to an exit ramp off the interstate highway. None of Auburn's remaining nineteenth century buildings would be razed; however, there would be increased noise levels and adverse aesthetic effects along Commercial Street due to highway encroachment.

Most of the structures on Commercial Street were built shortly after the fire of 1855. Lawyers Row, built in 1855 by Anderson and Mills, housed lawyers' offices during the "turbulent days of early Auburn," and was used in the 1880s by the Hart Fellows Community project for the publication of the Republican newspaper, *Stars and Stripes*.⁴² The structure has two-foot-thick walls of sun-dried brick, iron doors,



The iron doors, shake canopy and thick brick walls of Lawyers Row in Auburn were the local architect's answer to the threat of fire.

and a shake canopy across the front. East of Lawyers Row is a group of private and commercial buildings constructed from the 1860s through the 1880s. The first of these, the Masonic Lodge, was built in 1860. This two-story brick structure exhibits elegant features and proportions typical of Classical Revival architecture. Many of the materials, including the iron work of the second-story ballustrade came to Auburn via Cape Horn.⁴³ During the gold rush, many building materials and often whole buildings were constructed in the East or in Europe and shipped to California around Cape Horn.⁴⁴ Other structures along Commercial Street have been converted into modern shops and offices with their exteriors basically unaltered.

Northeast of "Historic Old Auburn," a group of early California bungalows would be affected by the construction of a massive system of interchanges at the junction of State Highway 49 and Interstate 80. The realignment of entrance and exit ramps would require the demolition of a number of structures from a residential district along Pine Street. Most of these private homes are small, single-story houses with open plans and raised foundations, typical of California Bungalow architecture.⁴⁵ The Pine Street houses, constructed between 1895 and 1925, com-

prise a viable residential neighborhood that has retained its original autonomy.

As a district representing "the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, and method of construction," the Pine Street bungalows may be eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.⁴⁶ The area north of Broad Street, now Lincoln Way, was subdivided in 1895 by W. B. Lardner, a local statesman and attorney.⁴⁷ Three houses were built before 1900, and most were completed by 1912. According to J.T. Riley, a 100-year-old building contractor, one of the Pine Street houses was designed and built by "Uncle Dave" Lanager.⁴⁸ Lanager, a turn-of-the-century architect and builder, also completed the Auburn Masonic Hall in 1916 after the original designer, A.D. Fellows, developed a serious illness.

The Pine Street area in Auburn, like a section of West Berkeley currently under consideration for the National Register, does not highlight high architecture but rather working class vernacular. Future decisions on National Register nominations will affect whether these and other examples of less flamboyant architectural styles are retained to show some semblance of how the majority of Americans have lived. Russell Wright, planning consultant to the Depart-



The David Lanager Home on Pine Street in Auburn was constructed by a local architect and builder as his residence in 1912.

The photograph on page 204 is by Barry Wolman, courtesy of California Tomorrow. Photos on pages 206, 209 and 216 are from the Library of Congress. Those appearing on pages 210, 211, 219 and 220 are by the author. The map of Nevada City is by Barbara Lind after Sanborn Perris Map Company, 1898. The map of Auburn on page 217 is from the Bancroft Library. Daguerreotypes on pages 214 and 215 are courtesy of the California State Library. The view of the "Heathen Chinee" is from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. The origin of the term Mother Lode and the region it encompasses is described in the following account from Dorothy G. Jenkins, "Sierran Roads of Yesterday and Today," Olaf P. Jenkins and others, *Geologic Guidebook along Highway 49, Sierran Gold Belt* (San Francisco: California Department of Natural Resources, Division of Mines [Bulletin 141], 1948), p. 10. "Indeed the very name Mother Lode is a heritage from the Mexican miners who were among the earliest comers. Their native province in Mexico was Sonora, a rich mining district with veins of gold-bearing quartz similar to the great dominant veins that extend about 70 miles in a fairly straight line from Mariposa north to Plymouth. The Sonoran vein was known as Veta Madre and the Mexicans applied the name to what they believed to be the source of the rich placers in the new field. . . . But they left as witness of their brief sojourn the name they gave to the dominant vein — a name that soon came to designate the whole region of the southern mines, and then to embrace the entire gold belt from Mariposa to Downieville."
2. Edward C. Kemble, *History of California Newspapers 1846-1858* (Los Gatos: Talisman Press, 1962), pp. 146, 201. Warren R. Howell, *Early Newspapers and Periodicals of California and the West* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1970), p. 79.
3. Hero E. Rensch, "Historic American Building Survey Inventory Work Sheets: Auburn, California," (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1961).
4. State of California, Department of Public Works, Division of Highways, "Land Required for State Highway" (Pla-37-Aub, Case No. 5768), January 1944.
5. Rensch, "HABS Inventory Work Sheets."
6. Alfred Heller, "Treasure of the Sierra Foothills," *Cry California*, II (Fall 1967), pp. 4-14.
7. Scenic Highway Advisory Committee, *Master Plan for Scenic Highways* (Sacramento, 1963). This plan was the basis for California Senate Bills 1467 and 1468 enacted in 1963.
8. C.A. Logan, "History of Mining and Milling Methods in California," Olaf P. Jenkins, *Geologic Guidebook*, p. 35.

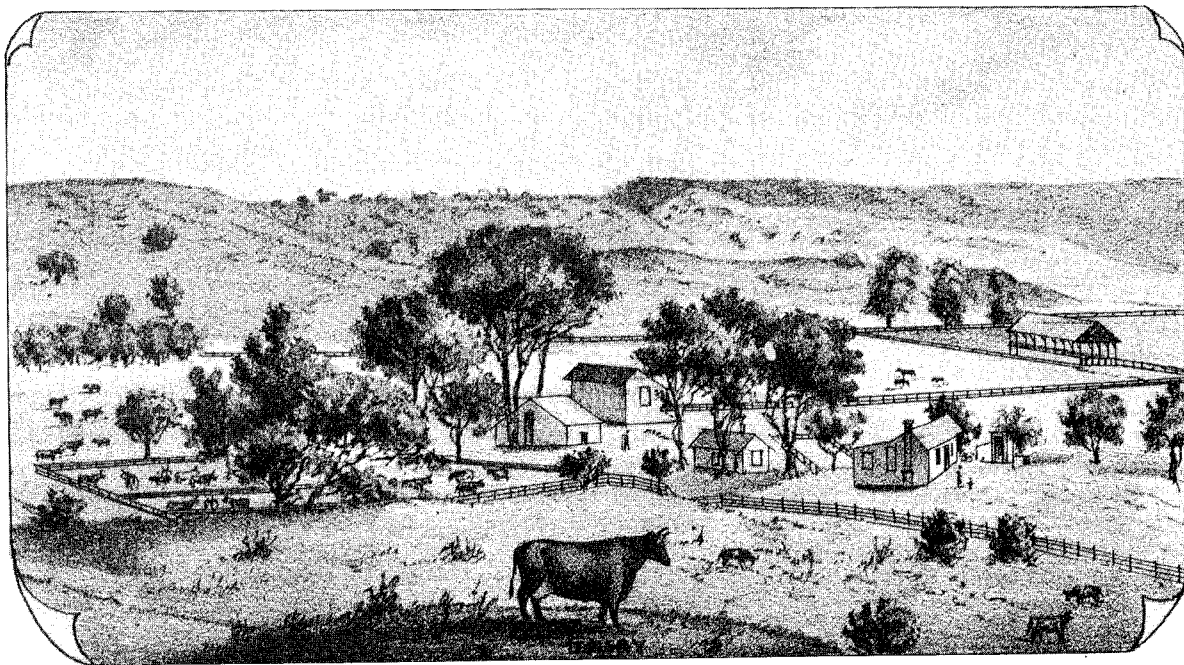
ment of Transportation and others, suggests that "to be effective the National Register listings must be supplemented to recognize the great number of buildings and sites of less than national significance that contribute to the architectural and cultural importance and character of a community."⁴⁹

The historic significance of buildings, structures, and sites in or contiguous to highway corridors is primarily determined on the basis of National Register criteria. The broad and subjective nature of these regulations has prompted some agencies, including the District 4 office of CalTrans in San Francisco, to expand and clarify these standards.⁵⁰ Pursuant to a state-local plan for the preservation of the gold country, the state should designate the historic and scenic places in the region and protect them from future state construction activities. Counties and cities along Highway 49 can adopt roadside controls that would effectively enforce the highway's scenic designation. Local ordinances protecting historically significant structures and districts can ensure the compatibility of future improvements and the economic survival of these vanishing resources.

Highway Planning

9. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, VI (San Francisco: History Company, Publishers, 1888) pp. 356-358, note 26.
10. Erwin G. Gudde, *California Gold Camps* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) p. 136, citing Isaac J. Wistar, *Autobiography 1827-1905* (Philadelphia: Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, 1914) I, p. 126.
11. Oliver E. Bowan, Jr., "Geologic Maps and Notes along Highway 49," Olaf P. Jenkins, *Geologic Guidebook*, p. 76.
12. Bancroft, VI, p. 359, citing *San Francisco Bulletin*, November 29, 1856.
13. "Division of Mines Building Survey," Olaf P. Jenkins, *Geologic Guidebook*, p. 156.
14. Robert C. Crecco, "Historic Preservation: Consumers' Interest Protected and Encouraged in Transportation Area," *Transportation Topics*, 1 (4) November 1973.
15. *Department of Transportation Act*, Public Law 89-670, 80 U.S.C. 931.
16. Federal Highway Administration, *Federal-aid Highway Manual*, FHPM 7-7-2, Section 19(a), December 30, 1974.
17. State of California, Department of Public Works, Division of Highways, District 3, "Draft Environmental Impact and Section 4-f Statement: Interstate 80, Placer County," (Marysville, 1973).
18. State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, *California Inventory of Historic Resources*, (Sacramento, 1976).
19. Mildred B. Hoover, Hero Rensch, and Ethel Rensch, *Historic Spots in California*, 2nd ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 270.
20. R.J. Steele et al., comps., *Directory of the County of Placer for the Year 1861* (San Francisco: Charles F. Robbins, 1861), pp. 7-8.
21. Goldsmith's *Poems*, (Chicago: Belford, Clark, and Company, 1880) p. 23.
22. Myron Angel, *History of Placer County* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1882), pp. 365-6. Leonard M. Davis, "A Study of an Early California Mining Camp" (M.A. thesis, Sacramento State College, 1953), pp. 12-20.
23. Hoover, *Historic Spots in California*, p. 270.
24. Angel, *History of Placer County*, pp. 367-8.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-7.
26. Davis, "Early California Mining Camp," pp. 1-6.
27. Angel, *History of Placer County*, pp. 66-7.
28. Steele, *Directory of Placer County*, p. 7.
29. Bancroft, VI, p. 355, note 22. "The story is told that some of the richest ground was found beneath [H.M.] House's hotel, and so enabling him to devote his leisure moments to digging under cover, and earning \$100 a day. A \$4000 nugget was reported."
30. Davis, "Early California Mining Camp," p. 149. Davis presents the following account from the *Alta California* (May 9, 1850): "The miners in the village of Auburn near the North Fork are doing remarkably well. The ravine running through the town is being dug up even to the doors of the stores. Six men working a lead in front of Mr. House's store took out one morning last week \$600 in coarse gold and averaged \$100 each daily for the last week."
31. *The Weekly Placer Herald*, November 20, 1852.
32. Hoover, *Historic Spots in California*, p. 271.
33. David Johnston, "Chinese Graves: Old Cemeteries Fall Prey to Time, Vandals," *Los Angeles Times*, July 16, 1978.
34. Keith Lukens, Auburn District Cemetery Director, July 1978.
35. Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1960), p. 365.
36. Steele, *Directory of Placer County*, p. 7.
37. *The Weekly Placer Herald*, April 28, 1855.
38. Angel, *History of Placer County*, pp. 366-7.
39. Rensch, "HABS Inventory Work Sheets."
40. "Guide to Historic Old Auburn" (Auburn: Auburn Area Chamber of Commerce, 1974).
41. Hoover, *Historic Spots in California*, p. 269.
42. Kenneth L. Milam, "National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Historic Old Auburn" (Auburn: Placer County Parks and Historical Restoration Commission, 1970).
43. Rensch, "HABS Inventory Work Sheets."
44. "Among the notable architectural novelties resorted to in the desperate search for living space were prefabricated sheet metal buildings imported from all parts of Europe and Asia. Iron houses and warehouses manufactured by E.T. Bellhouse of Manchester and John Walker of London were imported to California in numbers in 1849. . . . Many of the frame houses imported during the gold rush were consigned for ultimate shipment to inland communities and isolated mountain hamlets. The first recorded dwellings in Stockton and Marysville were clapboard houses that arrived from the metropolis by river steamer after a sea journey around South America." (Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier*, pp. 38-42).
45. Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture since 1780* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1969), pp. 217-20. Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier*, pp. 127-9.
46. *Federal Register*, Vol. 39, No. 18, Part II, Section 800.10(a).
47. "Map of W.B. Lardner's Subdivision," *Placer County Book of Maps A* (Auburn: Placer County Recorder's Office, 1895), p. 11. W.B. Lardner and M.J. Brock, *History of Placer and Nevada Counties* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1924), pp. 515-9.
48. J.T. Riley, Interview, July 28, 1978.
49. Russell Wright, *Incorporating Historic Preservation Objectives into the Highway Planning Process*, (Washington, D.C.: Department of Transportation, Office of the Secretary [DOT-OS-20087], 1974), p. 2.
50. State of California, Department of Transportation, District 4, "Historic Properties Survey Report, 04-SCL-101, Post Miles 17.2/29.4, Construction of Freeway from Morgan Hill to San Jose, Santa Clara County," (San Francisco, 1977), pp. 4-20.

“like a bright tree of life . . .”



Farmland Settlement of the Sacramento River Delta

At the beginning there was a great expanse of virgin, fertile land sliced by a waterway running from the mountains to the sea. Laced throughout with winding tributaries, graced by an abundance of lush, natural vegetation and wild game, its waters churned with fish of incredible length and size, its peace shattered only by thousands of pairs of wings taking flight. The region was unspoiled and unknown to the civilized world, save for a few sparse accounts by early explorers and trappers, a wilderness preserved by a natural physical isolation that discouraged settlement.

Then, discovery! A tiny flake of metal, gold — a creation of nature — drew men of many nations away from home in 1849 in the hope of possessing it. They came into the hills of an, as yet, unsettled territory, away from familiar surroundings and into the vast unknown in search of the elusive pay dirt.

The river was a link. Promise of an easy fortune brought shiploads of anxious gold seekers up the winding waterway, affording them the quickest and least uncomfortable route to the waiting gold fields. Some saw the land for its fine farmland potential and remembered it. Rising one day from their labors to find thousands of other men intent upon the same seemingly unattainable goal, these few returned to build homes and discover a more lasting fortune in the fertile farmlands of the Sacramento River Delta. They would come to know the river, in the way one historian referred to it: “like a bright tree of life.”¹

As early as 1849 argonauts-turned-farmers, who had left the inclement weather and undependable income of the gold fields to take advantage of the Delta’s natural resources, were planting small gardens and chopping wood for transport to boomtowns and mining camps on the same riverboats carrying more eager young men to the gold fields. One passenger took time to note “in little spots where the thicket had been cleared away, patches of

cabbages and other hardy vegetables, which seemed to have a thrifty growth.”²

Just as the Sacramento had teasingly deposited chunks of precious metal along its shores to the east, it had also left rich deposits of sediment and topsoil to filter down through the dense tules and thick underbrush during each flooding season. A soil was thereby created with potential for fruit, vegetable, and grain production unparalleled in size and quality of yield. Impenetrable foundations of loam, clay, silt, sand, gravel, and other organic materials had settled fifty feet, layer upon layer. Carried to this site by centuries of running water, the same layering of rotting reeds and tules formed a peaty soil above it, rich in nitrogen and incredibly fertile.³ But for an occasional natural knoll or Indian burial mound, the land remained level and subject to widespread flooding in the spring and early summer months when heavy rains and melting snow in the Sierra Nevada caused the river to rise. Once the flood waters receded, the land remained drought free and naturally irrigated by river seepage that kept the soil moist to within a few inches of its surface.⁴

Year-round mild temperatures, combined with a long growing season and short rain season, insured uninterrupted growth of most vegetables throughout the year, exceeding size and weight standards set elsewhere. Potatoes weighing several pounds each,

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squash tipping the produce scales at 300 pounds each, and fifty-pound cabbages were not uncommon. Alfalfa and barley colored the levees a deep emerald green, providing feed for the prize stock and dairy farms that could boast the sweetest milk and milk products in the valley. Blackberries and strawberries, growing in wild, viney profusion along the riverbank were leased out in patches and cultivated for a percentage of the crop. By the 1890s, strawberries alone could bring from \$500 to \$1000 per acre gross. One vast orchard of apricot, cherry, plum, peach, prune, pear, and other deciduous fruit trees extended a full forty miles from Sacramento to Rio Vista. The branches of Washington Navels often strained with the weight of oranges twelve inches in circumference, clustered by the dozen. In 1860, the Sacramento Delta fruit crop was valued at \$150,900, and as continued reclamation opened up more land for fruit tree planting, it had jumped to \$325,200 by 1879. Grain sacks were piled like fortress walls on the levees, overloading the great barges.⁵

And yet, here was a perplexing paradox. At once a farmer's dream and a farming nightmare, this potential garden land owed its being to the river. This same river that offered a livelihood for some as valuable as a gold strike, and that provided the best and oftentimes the only feasible means of transportation and communication, also seasonally threatened to transform the countryside into one vast sea of swirling water and floating debris, drowning sheep and cattle, smashing buildings to kindling wood, and driving settlers to rooftops and rowboats. The Delta was theirs to reap if they could keep it — but how to reclaim it from the mass of swampland and devastating flooding that seemed at times to threaten irreversible damage? Indeed their work was cut out for them.

Small wheelbarrow, or "shoestring" levees of riprap, inland soil, and tree branches, never more than

six feet high, were built with peat shovel, wheelbarrow, and backbreaking Chinese labor, offering little more than psychological comfort. They were no match for a raging river. To further complicate matters, state and local governments provided neither funds nor building specifications for the construction of levees and the task fell into the hands of the individual farmer. Levees up and down the river and along the backwaters reflected each landowner's dedication to and belief in the socially imposed flood control system — a completely piecemeal approach. Then too, levees were considered both a luxury and a foolhardy investment by many farmers who could not be assured of legal title to their property, as the state and federal governments continued their battle over ownership of the Delta lands far into the 1870s.⁶

Yet, by the late 1860s and into the early 1870s, established farms were flourishing and new farms and townships dotted the meandering river's edge. Due to a succession of drier winters which had caused a reduction in produce yields in the Central Valley and other areas of the state, the Delta benefitted substantially by lowered water levels encouraging an increase in planting and levee construction, and Delta produce was in demand at premium prices throughout the state.

Then disaster struck. Beginning in 1871, and continuing for a full decade, annual flooding caused such damage to existing levees and surrounding farmlands that Delta farmers again began to seriously question if anything could hold back the terrifying floodwaters.

In addition to the levee's structural weaknesses, two major concerns surged to the forefront. Inevitably, every acre of land leveed resulted in a



CROFTON HOUSE

The property upon which this house stands was purchased in July of 1859 by John Crofton: 173.53 acres for \$130.74. Born in Belfast, Ireland, Crofton came to California in 1850 to mine for a time in Murphy's Camp, Calaveras County. Once settled on the river, he built a home in 1865.

Originally white clapboard with a gabled roof, the Crofton house has been remodeled several times – the shingles are a recent addition – but has remained in the family. It has been moved back a total of four times to accommodate the growth of the levees, the last move occurring around 1920, when it was raised for the addition of an exposed basement.

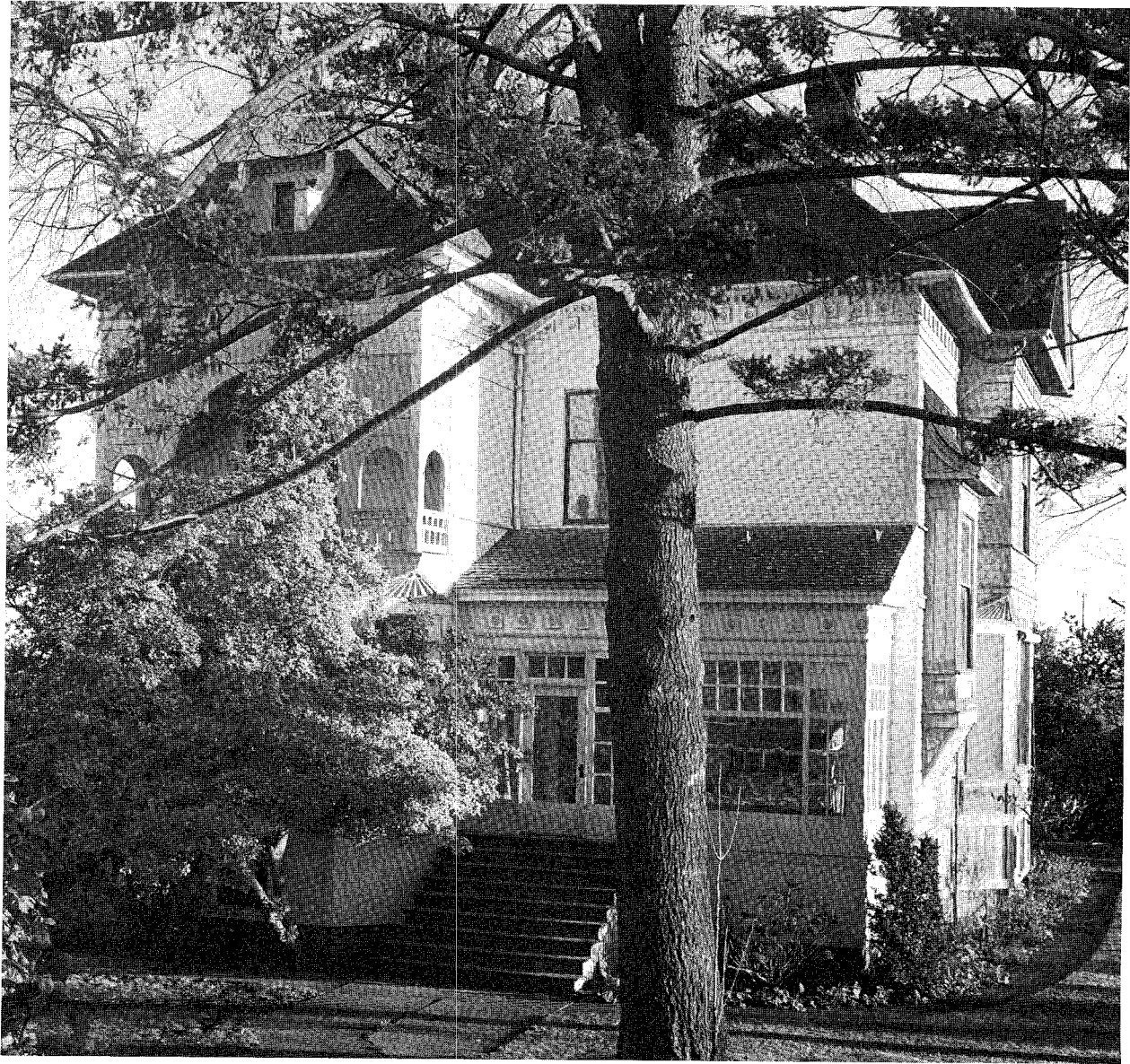
The domestic well, once topped by a windmill, held three redwood storage barrels for the fresh water that could be had by boring down eighty to one hundred feet through blue gravel and clay to the ancient riverbed. As recorded in the Sacramento Bee's, "Where California Fruits Grow," the only individual who couldn't make a go of it along the Sacramento River was the country doctor – the well water of the Delta area being so fresh and pure that common ailments like chills, fever, and malaria were scarce; a far-fetched story that in no way depreciates the fine quality of the water.



REYNOLDS HOUSE

Built just prior to the turn of the century, the Reynolds home belonged to A. T. J. Reynolds, a true southern gentleman who hailed from Kentucky. A. T. J. and his wife were known up and down the river for their fine dinner parties. A good-natured competition developed between the Reynolds and their neighbors across the river, the George Smiths, as to who could throw the grandest party. Mrs. Reynolds and Mrs. Smith challenged each other every year to an angel food cake bake-off for Eastern Star. Grandson George Smith recalls "When Mother was baking, if we slammed the door – we heard about it!" Mrs. Reynolds, when asked for a recipe, promised it sweetly but always left something out.

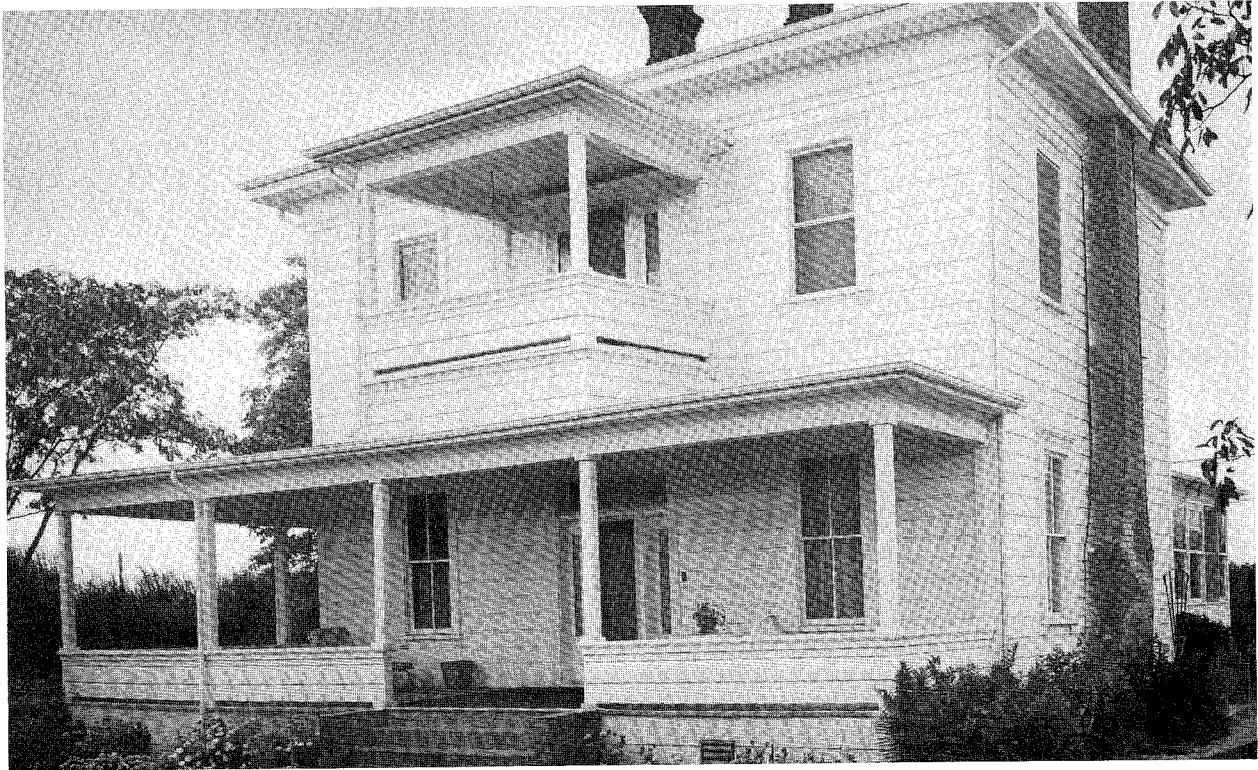
The Reynolds home was remodeled in the late teens by Christopher Mortenson, a contractor from Rio Vista who was also responsible for the construction of several other homes along the river.



DEAN HOUSE

***T**homas Webster Dean arrived on the river in the early 1860s and worked land in Sonoma and on Sutter Island until he could afford to buy his own seventy acre ranch in 1872. It was another twenty years before the present home was built – an adaptation of a home near Benecia that T. W. Dean had admired on his many trips down river to San Francisco.*

Built like a fortress, the Dean House has stood so firm that even when the waterforce from the old sternwheelers turning round pummeled the shore and shook the house, no more stress was produced beneath one area of the structure than any other. The T. W. Dean house has not settled over half an inch in eighty-six years.



LYDIA'S HOUSE

Constructed in 1872 by Nelson Bump, ranchowner and cousin of A. J. Bump, Freeport merchant and saloon keeper, the Bump house does not claim to be anything other than a farmhouse. "Lydia's house," as it is affectionately called, has the bold architectural styling of the Greek Revival period – a symmetrical simplicity that, true to A. J. Downing, shows "an absence of all pretension."

Built of fir and sheathed in redwood which the present caretaker now notes is "petrified," the home's white shiplap exterior literally glows. It was remodeled in 1920; the open railing on the porch was converted to shiplap, the back porch was enclosed, and a third chimney was added to the north side of the house when the two small downstairs rooms were opened into one through removal of a dividing wall.

one-acre shrinkage of flood plain necessary for excess river flow, and desperate measures — the dynamiting of levees up river to relieve the building pressure during heavy flooding — often found farmers out in force to protect their property from sabotage. Then too, by the early 1870s, the landowners were harassed with the new and growing problem of hydraulic mining. An increased flow of water combined with the silt and debris washed away in the feverish search for gold caused the channel level to rise, muddied the waters, and altered the shape and depth of the riverbed to such a degree that sandbars rose up practically overnight, reeking havoc by delaying produce shipment and rendering river waters virtually unnavigable for steamship traffic. The landowners were to do political battle with the mining industry for more than a decade before they were rewarded with an injunction in 1884.⁷ But the damage had been done.

Because of the endless labor, forbidding costs, and continuous rebuilding and enlarging of the levees that still could not contain the floodwaters, the farmers simply gave up, planting and harvesting what they could between floods. Then, in 1889, the first clamshell dredgers were employed to heighten and strengthen the levees. Though the farmers initially regarded the newfangled machinery with suspicion, they soon realized its value. The dredger was a barge with a long boom and large bucket that opened like a huge clamshell to drop down into the soft riverbottom, clamp shut, lift, and swing out over the levee where its contents were released and packed down. Because it removed land from the river side of the levee, it had the effect of both deepening the channels and increasing their size, as well as cutting the cost of

levee construction by more than half.⁸

Shortly after the main river levees were completed, a flood, its rate equal to one hundred Sacramento Rivers at normal flow, hit the Delta with a fury. The year was 1907 and residents rowed over orchards and wharfs to reach any safe landing and wait for steamboat rescue. All but Grand and Sutter Islands were completely submerged. Four years later, the California legislature was called by then Governor Hiram Johnson to approve the Sacramento Flood Control Plan. The special session demanded the joint efforts of the state and federal governments and private enterprise. In less than a decade, protected productive acreage in the Sacramento Valley would double from 300,000 acres in 1910 to 700,000 acres in 1918.⁹

The river had seemingly been tamed, its incredible force harnessed for a controlled run and inland irrigation, but those who settled beside it knew better than to think it conquered. They had come to accept the river as life-giving and life-threatening, linking them with yet isolating them from the world about them.

River transportation was to remain the only dependable method of travel between Sacramento and San Francisco into the early twentieth century. Shipbuilding had become a lucrative alternative for hard-luck miners skilled as shipwrights and carpenters and, with the great influx of humanity, a rapidly growing demand for passage between San Francisco and the gold fields brought the river to life almost overnight. As supply rose to meet demand, river traffic mushroomed. Before 1850 had come to a close, the river could boast an inland fleet of fifty steamers.¹⁰ Rate wars ensued, only the first of many, driving the price of a single fare in 1850 from \$30 to \$10, and within a year the price had dropped to a single dollar.¹¹ Ridiculously low fares and hot tempers combined to bring about a rakish hawking of transportation services along the wharves by San Francisco agents who touted rival shipping crews as

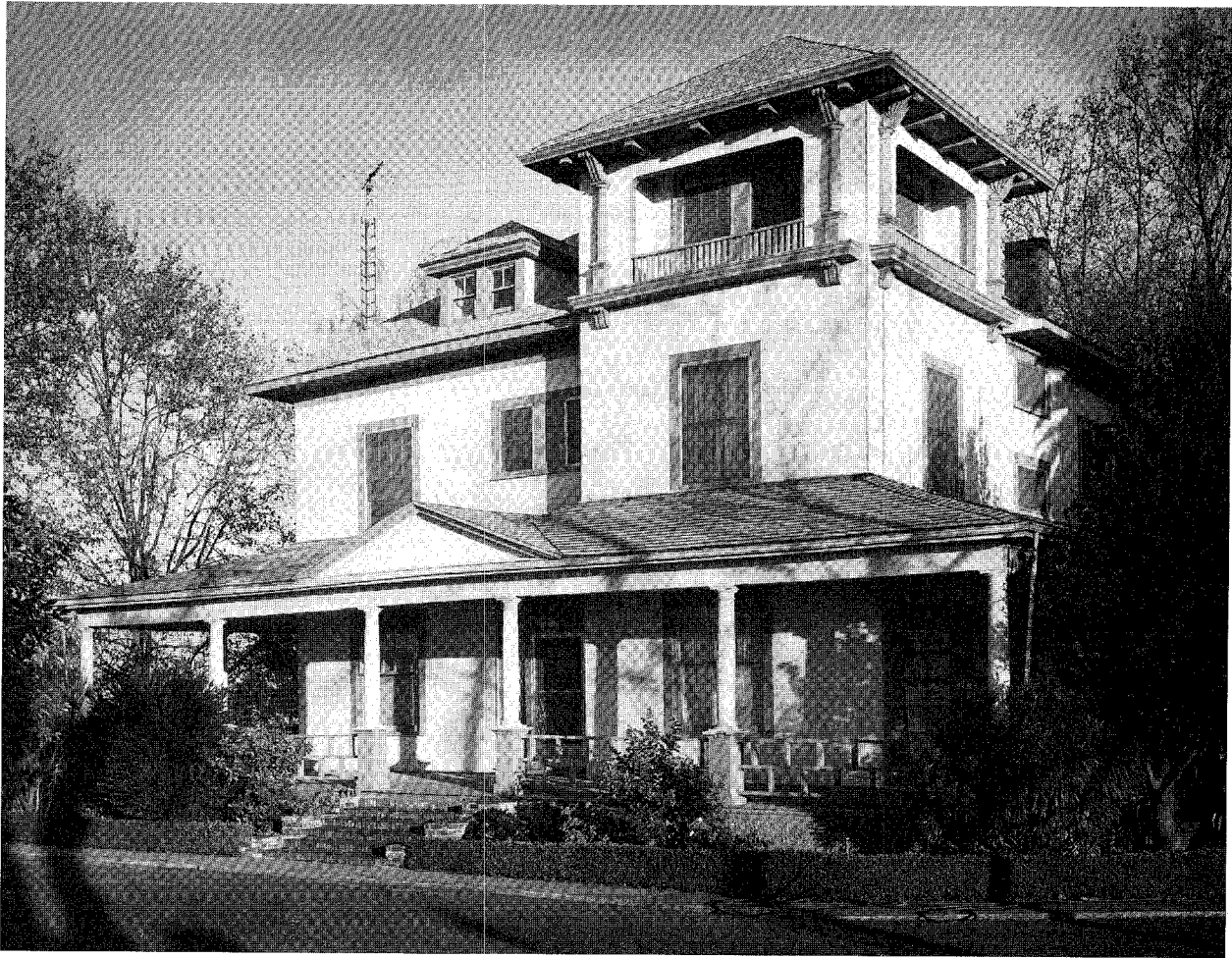


ROSEBUD FARM

***R**ather like a city lady, born and bred, who came to the country and decided to stay, Rosebud Farm typifies not only the type of architecture so popular in San Francisco during the late nineteenth century, but its influence on architectural adaptation by smaller, thriving communities, as well.*

Built prior to 1870 for State Senator William Johnson, it boasts the classic lines of the Italianate High Victorian – Corinthian columns, angled bay windows, and arched door and window frames. Rosebud Farm was designed by architect Nathaniel Goodell, who also constructed plans for the Governor's Mansion in Sacramento. The grounds were designed by the landscape architect who was also responsible for Golden Gate Park in San Francisco.

Originally, the house held five imported European marble fireplaces and several marble sinks. In 1918, it was remodeled to add space, extending the rear of the house by adding on two bedrooms and enclosing the back porch. The Johnson family retained ownership until 1967, when the home was sold to artist Wayne Thiebaud. The present owners, members of the Sacramento Old City Association, are working to recapture the original atmosphere of the design.



GAMMON HOUSE

The Gammon farmhouse is a three-story home of frame construction, built around the turn of the century for \$7,000. Mrs. Drusella D. Cook Gammon, for whom the home was built, traveled across the plains on a wagon train from Michigan in 1850 and settled on the river ten years later, when she met and married Walter Gammon. After Walter was drowned in a riding accident, she and her children set about the task of planting trees back from the levee until their entire landholdings were in pear, peach, and cherry orchards.

The first home was built farther back, on a knoll that has since been leveled. There during the devastating flood of 1866-67, several neighbors farther down river took refuge on the second floor as livestock were herded below.

When the present home was built, every modern convenience was included: indoor plumbing, radiators, a basement heater, and an elevator. Designed for Mrs. Gammon, who was then confined to a wheelchair, it was operated by a system of weights, ropes, and pulleys. Grandson Earl Gammon, who at the time of construction was nearly six years old, recalls a houseful of carpenters from Sacramento and a long fall down the elevator shaft.

riffraff and competing river craft as scows. Intent upon attaining the fastest travel time, too many ships, crewmen, and passengers suffered through collisions both deliberate and accidental. Tragic boiler explosions sometimes occurred while racing from port to port to the thrill, and all too often, the horror of the crowds.¹²

On April Fool's Day, 1869, the Central Pacific Railroad purchased the California Steamship Navigation Company, formed fifteen years earlier through the combined efforts of leading steamship owners to insure more adequate control of traffic and transportation costs.¹³ Locals were up in arms over such a blatant monopolization of river travel. Opposition craft gave the company a run for its money, but C.P. had the upper hand, dropping the fare to a dime or cancelling it all together. Nor were they above paying passengers to travel their lines or to ship produce if the opposition had the wherewithall to give a good challenge. They also trimmed the fare to "two bits with dinner thrown in," making it cheaper to travel the river than to remain at home.¹⁴ No opposition steamship operator could do battle and win, but the fight brought excitement and entertainment to the river and its people.

Landowners soon recognized that such insanity merely resulted in nothing short of pandemonium with regards to shipping costs and delivery for their produce. By the late 1850s, many enterprising farmers built or purchased private schooners to freight their produce to urban markets.¹⁵ By 1864, farmers along the river almost exclusively employed the services of two sailing vessels, each making two round trips a week between Sacramento and San Francisco. Within three years, fruit farmers had

purchased the services of the 181-ton sternwheeler *Reform*, destined to become the core of the farmer-owned and operated California Transportation Company. A downstream trip along the Sacramento involved calling at sixty-five private weigh landings before the long leg to San Francisco could even begin, and the *Reform* always turned out laden with hundreds of splint boxes of peaches or other fruit, sacked potatoes, boxed tomatoes, and kegs of preserved melons. Fresh melons were also loaded on deck, thrown from man to man with an occasional disaster, to be stacked in ever-expanding piles.¹⁶

In addition to the big steamers that plied the deeper waterways, fruit launches traveled the river and its more shallow, slender tributaries. They sashayed from weigh landing to weigh landing, bound for market with boxes and splint baskets fashioned by the Chinese filled to the brim with fruits and vegetables. The containers were piled one on top of another until "before the journey was half complete the boats themselves resembled drifting garden baskets."¹⁷ Farmers and boatmen knew one another by first name, and each stop served to renew old acquaintances and draw progress reports on family members. The riverboat captain was revered by Delta children. Often, the crews sang heartily while loading the produce and bank dwellers joined in on the tune as they aided in the chore. The farmers were always assured their produce would have a gentle trip, arriving fresh and unbruised for market.

River travel remained an important communal link even after the Southern Pacific Railroad ran its connecting lines for produce shipment in 1912. This great umbilical cord continued to nourish the ground, transport its people and the fruits of their labors, and deliver goods and services so vital to an isolated community. Once river travel had shown itself to be a valuable commodity, two S.P. boats, the *Modoc* and the *Apache*, made stops at several Delta towns be-



EASTMAN HOUSE

Nellie Eastman is remembered fondly by neighbors up and down the river as the lady with a camellia named for her in Capital Park in Sacramento. She was one of the founding docents of the La Perita Garden Club of Courtland and Walnut Grove. Membership was limited and prospects were subject to careful scrutiny. "Someone had to die before you could get in." The ladies gathered once a month at one of their homes along the river to listen to speakers and discuss the beauty and pleasure of growing things. Each year the club took great pride in furnishing an exhibit on Delta flora for the county fair in Galt – "they worked like Trojans putting that up."

Her home, built for her in the 1880s by her husband Arthur Eastman, is a simple, typical farmhouse of white clapboard with green shutters and a running veranda, built over an exposed basement with entrance on the second floor to take into account the yearly flooding. The grounds, unkempt and overgrown, still slope down and away from the house with here and there a tree or shrub sorely in need of the delicate touch of Aunt Nellie's pruning shears. A fertile imagination can still transform the tangles and clumps into the garden she so dearly loved.

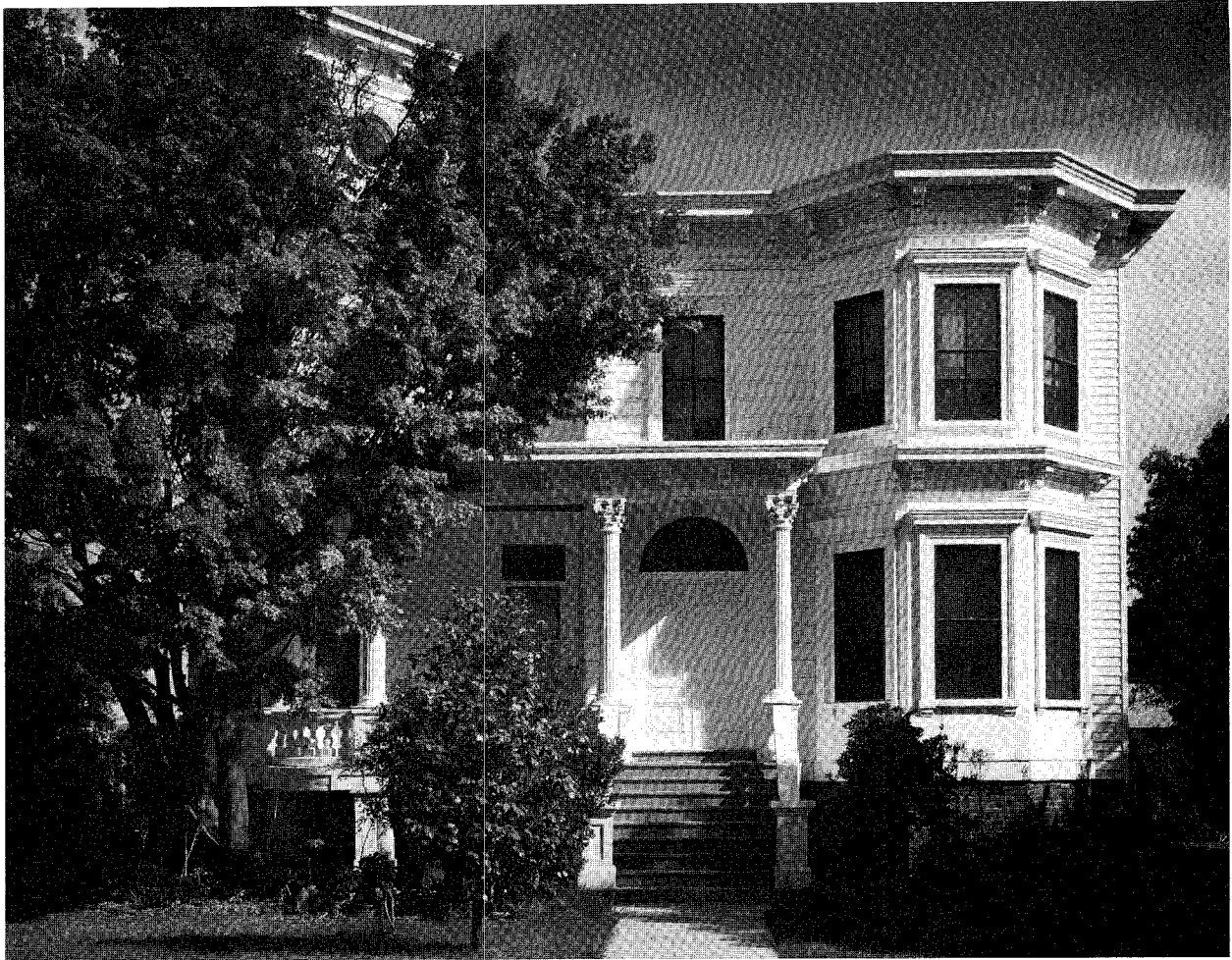


GEORGE GREENE HOUSE

In 1871, Josiah Buckman Green brought a palm tree from San Francisco in a tea tin and planted it on the site of the George Greene home. Josiah's son George and Charles Crombie, a cabinet maker by trade, drew up a blueprint and constructed the home themselves from seasoned redwood brought down river from a northern sawmill.

After a time, the structure became known as the "Ding" place, a curious name until one understands that apparently George, needing a marker at the river's edge to signal steamboats and barges that would transport his produce to market, drove a piece of driftwood into the berm. The driftwood had at one time hung over a boarding house and only the last half of the sign remained. Perhaps folklore, perhaps not, but the name stuck.

Built in 1875, the house was raised eight feet in 1908 and a complete cement basement was added beneath at a cost of \$1400. A sturdy, well-built home, it never satisfied Mrs. Greene, who had hoped for a fine Victorian complete with bay windows and all the appointments.



SMITH HOUSE

Born in 1831, George A. Smith emigrated from Germany to America and crossed the Isthmus of Panama on foot to settle on Grand Island in 1850. He came to farm, returning to Joliette in 1855 to marry Margaret Hale, whom he brought overland via Conestoga wagon to her new home. He continued to accumulate property and in 1877 took up residence here on "Diamond S" ranch.

Apparently, the north half of the home, built by an Italian family, was standing when the Smiths took possession of the property and George Smith completed the structure in 1877-78 for \$2500. Situated on a high mound and built of redwood on a brick foundation with redwood flooring, it has never been moved and has had no major remodeling other than the addition of indoor plumbing in 1918.

The present Mrs. Smith recalls how, being a city girl at heart, she had no intention of moving to the country. But on a visit with her new husband she was cajoled into staying "one more week, one more week." That one more week extended to thirty-seven years. "I got the idea before then . . . it was a wonderful place to bring up the boys."



THE RIVER MANSION

Son of a German immigrant who arrived in California in 1857 by way of Ohio, Louis Myers did not live to see his mansion completed. His father, Henry William Myers, worked for \$45.00 a month on the 250 acre ranch he rented to eventually purchase it in 1865. He must have instilled in his son the importance of hard work and land ownership for it was Louis' dream that each of his six children have their own 100 acre parcel of land. He expanded his holdings too quickly, believing that the wealth he gleaned from the harvest of his crops would never be lost. But it was not to be.

The home, begun in 1918, was not completed for another five years. The original estimated cost was \$80,000. Upon completion, the widow Myers and architect J. W. Dolliver of San Francisco had realized a construction cost of \$340,000.

The Pacific Fruit Exchange foreclosed on the property shortly after the home was completed, and since that time this Classic Italian Villa, with over 50 rooms, a grand ballroom, tea rooms and formal dining room, bowling alley and servants quarters, has housed a collection of people and services, including wild birds and bindlestiffs.

tween San Francisco and Sacramento to deliver mail. While they also transported freight and customers, they quickly became known to Delta inhabitants as mailboats. Storeboats took orders and delivered goods, everything from candy to ice kegs and kerosene, while other steamboats docked at private weigh landings to deliver a special item, perhaps a baby grand piano. As Sacramento and Stockton remained "small town" into the early 1900s, shopping excursions to San Francisco were routine and often became a family outing, combining business, shopping, and pleasure.¹⁸

Ferryboats transported livestock and travelers from one side of the river or slough to the other and mishaps, tragic and comical, were not unusual. On occasion, cattle driven onboard and frightened by cramped quarters and unfamiliar surroundings, would break through the barrier and plunge into the river, swim ashore and scatter, leaving to those still aboard the laborious task of rounding them up. From time to time, a runaway horse would dash onboard and crash through the barrier, taking carriage and sometimes rider into the icy Sacramento.¹⁹

By the 1870s, those settlers who could afford the additional expense, chartered steamboats for everything from catered weddings and social affairs to funeral party transportation from the home of the deceased to cemeteries in Sacramento and Rio Vista. Rumor has it, a few riverboats operated as floating gambling establishments with "ladies" of questionable moral standing present to accompany the ship's guests to the tables and elsewhere. Other riverboats serenaded the settlers with sweet music as they moved slowly and gracefully up and down river. On a dare, mischievous river children would brave

churning water and parental reproach to capture a rowboat and ride the waves of a sternwheeler's wake, despite the captain's chagrined cry from the bridge, "Does your mother know you're out there?" Even an ocean liner might occasionally wend its way up river when the water level was high, to the delight and wonderment of riverbank dwellers.²⁰

Without question, the river had always offered the cheapest and the most convenient method of transportation and communication, and the number and diversity of services delivered to the landowner's doorstep grew with time. Though building at the river's edge proved a logical extension of river activity, early settlers faced the first and equally as logical drawbacks.

Early river traffic flourished in response to a very mobile society — everyone was either coming from or going to the gold fields. Seventy-five percent of the territory's population was engaged in the search for easy riches, with the intention of gathering up a fortune and promptly sailing for home port. Boom-town structures were slapped together with any available material in order to meet only the most immediate needs, and the urgency of the moment dictated the quality of the workmanship. Similarly, the labor force expanded and contracted in direct proportion to the level of activity in the gold fields, vanishing in an instant with the report of any new gold strike.

Literally left without the necessary manpower or materials for constructing a proper farmhouse, the Delta settlers turned to mail-ordering prefabricated structures from New England. Delivered unassembled with directions for construction, these simple, frame structures were shipped around the Horn to San Francisco and floated upriver where, with luck, a local carpenter or shipwright was employed in construction. Simple, white clapboard structures with green shutters, these first houses were the only link

with home, and they served their purpose well, even housing livestock on the first floor and frightened families on the second during the devastating floods.²¹

Originally built on natural knolls or Indian burial mounds to compensate for yearly episodes of flooding, both these and newer homes were put up on stilts and bulwarking. As soil was added to the land side of the levees for greater flood protection, homes were often moved back several feet and raised to have brick foundations built beneath them. Plans were adapted to provide for a main entrance on the second floor of homes built on the lower ground, and the first floor evolved into an exposed basement. A rowboat was always kept fastened securely to the back porch railing, for during floodtide family members were often restricted to coming and going by boat from second story windows.²²

Yet, with rich riverbottom land primed for a record crop production, an endless supply of cheap, dependable labor, and readily accessible river transportation for goods and services, building on the riverfront continued to be a most attractive and sensible idea, despite the seasonal promise of flood. Disenchanted with the search for gold, carpenters, shipwrights, architects and craftsmen returned to their crafts and the Delta landowners found the project of new home construction to be a pleasant venture. By the early 1890s, the Sacramento Valley had proven itself to be an agricultural goldmine and the *Sacramento Bee* published a special edition project, "Where California Fruits Grow" in 1895, expounding upon the Eden-like qualities of this incredibly fertile farmland and taking particular note of the fine homes along the Sacramento River.²³

Indeed, the landowners took great pride in their fine estates. Cradled in serenity with an uninterrupted view of the meandering river and neighboring farms, these fine new homes spread out boldly on perennially green lawns and were often surrounded by lemon, orange, fan palm, pepper, walnut, magnolia, sycamore, and eucalyptus trees. The grounds were groomed to perfection and ornamental roses, camellias, calla and tiger lillies; oleanders, pink fuschia, heliotrope, and a host of other blooms responded gloriously to the rich soil and mild climate.²⁴

While some copied designs of homes they had seen farther up or down river, landowners also found that architects' and builders' catalogs and pattern books offered a multitude of designs in floorplan and detail; millwork and other embellishments. Presumably, some of the carpenters they employed simply lifted entire homes from the pages, pirating designs and penciling in requested alterations. Following the Centennial Exposition of 1876, the Eastlake, Stick, Shingle, Queen Anne, and Italianate styles that filtered into California also found their way upriver and into the farming communities in the form of ornamental chimneys, bay windows, towers, braced gables, and a profusion of millwork and plaster mouldings and stained glass windows. They were true showplaces, reflecting for all who traveled the river or the river roads the pride and determination of those who challenged a river to settle and build.

By the 1920s, reclamation had adequately harnessed the river. Though this man-made design for flood protection had irreversibly altered the landscape, destroying the natural beauty of the tree-lined banks, the homes and the spirits of those who had built them rose above the levees. The river had demanded of the settlers that they scar their riverfront property with great mounds of earth to save their fields and orchards from yearly inundation. But many of the homes remain, a tribute to the tenacity

Bright Tree of Life

and determination of those who chose to settle along a river that wound its way through the land "like a bright tree of life."²⁵

The information used in the photograph captions was obtained from a variety of resources: *The Illustrated History of Sacramento County*, Thompson and West; *The History of the Sacramento Valley*, Vol. III, Joseph A. McGowan; *Historic Landmarks of the City and County of Sacramento*, Friends of the Sacramento City and County Museum; *History of Sacramento County 1913*, edited by William L. Willis; and *History of Sacramento County, 1923*, edited by G. Walter Reed. Informal interviews were also conducted with Aaron Gallup, staff architectural historian with the Preservation Department of the California State Department of Parks and Recreation, as well as numerous interviews with descendants and neighbors of the houses' original owners.

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18. *Ibid.*
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20. Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1960), pp. 39-41.
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Notes

1. Bayard Taylor, *El Dorado* (New York: Knopf, 1949), p. 47.
2. John Thompson, "The Settlement Geography of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, California" (unpublished thesis, Stanford University, 1957), pp. 7-9.
3. *Sacramento County and Its Resources; A Souvenir of the Bee*, "Where California Fruits Grow" (Sacramento: The McClatchy Company, 1894), p. 42.
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10. Julian Dana, *The Sacramento: River of Gold* (New York: J.J. Little and Ives Company, 1939), p. 221.
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14. Dana, *The Sacramento*, p. 227.
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Between Two Cultures:



Inaugurated in 1863 as California's first four-year governor, Frederick F. Low was later appointed as U.S. minister to China in 1869

Frederick Ferdinand Low, former governor of California, had been in Peking only two months as the new United States diplomatic representative to the Chinese government when a Chinese mob at Tientsin killed the French consul, ten Roman Catholic nuns, and ten other foreigners. The Tientsin massacre of June 21, 1870, bared the reality of the mutual hostility between China and the West in its most antagonistic terms. The basic problem of reconciling the Eastern and Western civilizations almost overwhelmed Low and his diplomatic colleagues — both Western and Chinese. Low encountered the same problem the next year when he went to Korea in an attempt to establish treaty relations with China's neighbor. The mission ended in an armed clash and without a treaty. In August, 1873, after participating in the first audience granted by an Emperor of China to Western envoys, Low left China. The Californian had served his nation in a difficult role during a critical period in the formative years of U.S.-China relations. His experiences considerably diminished his originally optimistic belief in the peaceful resolution of differences between China and the West.

When President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Low as United States minister plenipotentiary to China in 1869, the Californian had already distinguished himself as a businessman and political leader. Low was born in New England and as a teenager served a five-year apprenticeship with the Boston firm of Russell, Sturgis, and Company, one of the leading American commercial houses involved in the China trade. In 1849 the lure of gold in California prompted him to go West to seek his fortune. He arrived in San Francisco a few days before his twenty-first birthday. Like thousands of other forty-niners, he never had

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Frederick F. Low In China

much luck as a miner, but he quickly realized the potential business opportunities in a booming place like gold-rush California. After a brief partnership in a general merchandise store in San Francisco, he moved to Marysville. There, with his two brothers, he formed a successful mercantile and shipping business, and later became a partner in the California Steam Navigation Company and in a Marysville bank.¹

In 1861 as the nation was plunging into the Civil War, Low moved back to San Francisco as a prosperous entrepreneur and to his surprise received the Republican nomination for California's newly created third seat in Congress. Although he had not sought the position, in the fall of that year he was elected to the United States House of Representatives. He served one term in Washington but did not seek re-nomination. Low looked forward to returning to his business pursuits in 1863 but found himself unable to refuse an appointment by President Abraham Lincoln as the collector of the Port of San Francisco. His loyal service to the Union cause, both as collector and as a member of Congress, made him a popular favorite among many of California's pro-Union politicians. In June, 1863, his supporters successfully secured his nomination as Unionist (Republican) candidate for governor — defeating two more well-known leaders, incumbent Governor Leland Stanford and Congressman Aaron A. Sargent. In the general election Low outdistanced John G. Downey, the Democratic nominee, by over 20,000 votes.²

Inaugurated on December 10, 1863, as his state's first four-year governor, Low continued during his term in Sacramento to be a faithful supporter of the Northern war effort and the Republican party. Under his leadership California supplied all of the volunteers and financial support for the war that Lincoln's government requested from the state. When the war ended, he endorsed the Congressional



Prince Kung, as head of the Tsungli Yamen or foreign office, was the principal Chinese with whom Low negotiated in the early 1870s.

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plan of Reconstruction. In December, 1867, one of his last official acts as governor was to recommend to the state legislature that it ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, which provided the constitutional authority for the Congressional Reconstruction program. Low remained outspoken in his support of the Republican majority in Congress and publicly expressed approval of the impeachment proceedings against President Andrew Johnson in 1868.³

Governor Low had proved to be an honest and even courageous chief executive. Not only did he unhesitatingly voice his own convictions on national issues, he even more fearlessly challenged the widespread anti-Chinese prejudice in California by criticizing state laws that discriminated against Orientals. In a January, 1867, speech he pleaded with his San Francisco audience: "We must learn to treat the Chinese who come to live among us decently, and not oppress them by unfriendly legislation, nor allow them to be abused, robbed, and murdered, without extending to them any adequate remedy."⁴ His businessman's perception of a potential market in China for American goods undoubtedly colored his view of the Chinese, but still his sentiments were remarkably enlightened for his times. Indeed, in 1869, two years after he left the governor's office, Low's publicly expressed sympathy for the Chinese and his Republican loyalty made him Secretary of State Hamilton Fish's choice for the post of United States minister to China.⁵

In the decade preceding Low's diplomatic appointment, there had been significant disagreement over the best method of conducting relations with the imperial Chinese government. Anson Burlingame had arrived in Peking in 1862 as the first American minister to reside in the Chinese capital. Along with his diplomatic colleagues from Britain, France, and Russia, Burlingame had developed a system known as the cooperative policy. It was an attempt to protect Western interests in trade and missionary activity in China through cooperation among the foreign representatives and the Chinese government. By including the Emperor's government, this policy was essentially conciliatory toward the ruling dynasty. It contrasted sharply with previous Western practices toward China. For many centuries China had been the Middle Kingdom — the center of a highly advanced East Asian civilization that was geographically and culturally isolated from the West. In the two decades before 1860, Britain and France had used naval and military force to coerce Chinese officials into allowing European and American commercial, religious, and diplomatic activity in the Middle Kingdom.

The Chinese, of course, approved of the apparent change in Western methods represented by the cooperative policy, and in 1867 they honored Burlingame by naming him their first official envoy to represent them in the Western capitals. Burlingame's replacement as American minister in Peking, however, was a man who did not share his predecessor's enthusiasm for cooperation with the Chinese. The new U.S. representative was J. Ross Browne, a widely traveled San Francisco author who had held numerous government posts. Arriving in the Chinese capital in September, 1868, Browne soon concluded that China's civilization was almost totally irreconcilable with that of the West and that Burlingame's conciliatory policy was completely

impractical. In his opinion only a return to a more forceful, even menacing, policy toward the Middle Kingdom could overcome continuing Oriental hostility and resistance toward the West. Because he disagreed with Burlingame's approach, which he believed that the State Department continued to favor, he resigned his post after less than a year in Peking.⁶

Low had not sought the position as Browne's replacement in Peking. In fact, the former governor and congressman had always considered himself a businessman, not a politician. He was too independent and outspoken to feel comfortable in public life. It was precisely his frank defense of Chinese rights in California, however, that made Washington believe that, despite his lack of diplomatic experience, he was the best man to continue Burlingame's cooperative policy in China. In October, 1869, Low reluctantly put aside the management of his business interests in San Francisco and accepted his commission as the new United States minister plenipotentiary in China. He arrived at the small American legation building in Peking on April 19, 1870, and assumed the duties of his office the following day.⁷

The new minister's first impressions of the state of relations between the Chinese and the Westerners in China reconfirmed his earlier opinions formed in California that fairmindedness and friendship would be the most effective approach toward the Orientals. In one of his first reports from Peking in May to Secretary of State Fish, Low advised:

It will require time and patience to work changes in the existing order of things by peaceful means. No one agency will be likely to do so much towards enlightenment, as a prelude to progress, as personal contacts, intercourse and discussion between the representatives of Western nations resident in China and the Chinese officials.⁸

The former governor appeared to be a worthy heir to Burlingame's cooperative diplomacy.

*Low complained directly to the
Tsungli Yamen about its dilatory
and irresolute handling of the
Tientsin affair . . .*

The Tientsin massacre of June 21, 1870, quickly tested Low's commitment to the principle of peaceful cooperation with the Chinese government. While other foreigners, particularly missionaries, panicked from fear of imminent anti-foreign uprisings throughout China, the new American minister viewed the situation more cautiously. He abhorred and condemned the carnage and destruction caused by the Chinese mob but believed that the French officials and missionaries who were attacked in Tientsin had largely determined their own fate. The center of contention had been the Roman Catholic orphanage at Tientsin operated by the Sisters of Charity. Low felt "entirely certain that the people who brought children to the Sisters' Establishment were rewarded pecuniarily."⁹ Such activities sparked rumors that the orphanage was buying children for diabolical purposes, such as the making of soap and medicines from their organs. The French consul in Tientsin had done nothing to allay popular suspicions and, in fact, had fired his pistol into a crowd that came to the mission demanding to know exactly what went on inside. The mob then literally tore the consul to pieces, brutally killed twenty other foreigners, and destroyed the mission property.¹⁰

Although no Americans were killed at Tientsin, Low took part in a joint foreign demand to the Chinese foreign office (the Tsungli Yamen) for punishment of the murderers and for measures to prevent other such occurrences. He warily avoided,

however, specific demands for redress. The American minister maintained a public facade of cooperation with his French colleague, but privately he sent Washington a stream of sharp criticisms of French diplomacy.¹¹

Following the massacre, war between France and China appeared imminent and probably would have occurred, if the Franco-Prussian War had not preempted the attention of Paris. Low placed total blame on Count Rochechouart, the French chargé d'affaires in Peking, for raising the specter of war in China. Initially Rochechouart simply joined with the other foreign representatives in their communications with the Tsungli Yamen. After going to Tientsin for a personal inspection, however, the chargé arbitrarily declared two local Chinese officials guilty and demanded their immediate decapitation. He threatened to turn the matter over to the admiral of the French fleet in the Pacific if the Chinese authorities did not comply.¹²

Low believed that Rochechouart had made a serious blunder. The Chinese refused to summarily execute the officials, and the French admiral, uncertain of his country's strategy toward Prussia, would not commit his forces against the Chinese without orders from Paris. The French chargé had first impugned China's sovereignty and then had been unable to carry out his threat. According to Low, such conduct jeopardized the welfare of every foreigner in China. In the absence of French naval pressure, weeks passed without any action by the imperial government. The Chinese people would misinterpret Peking's inaction, Low feared, and think that their government condoned the massacre. The result would be more bloodshed, and the responsibility for it would rest squarely on Rochechouart. This dangerous situation could have been prevented, in Low's opinion, if the French chargé had remained united with his colleagues in addressing the Tsungli Yamen. The

American thought that by cooperating the foreign representatives could have prompted the imperial Chinese government to settle the case. Low understood that cooperation could be both with and against the Chinese government and that "M. Rochechouart's isolated and infirm policy" had been neither.¹³

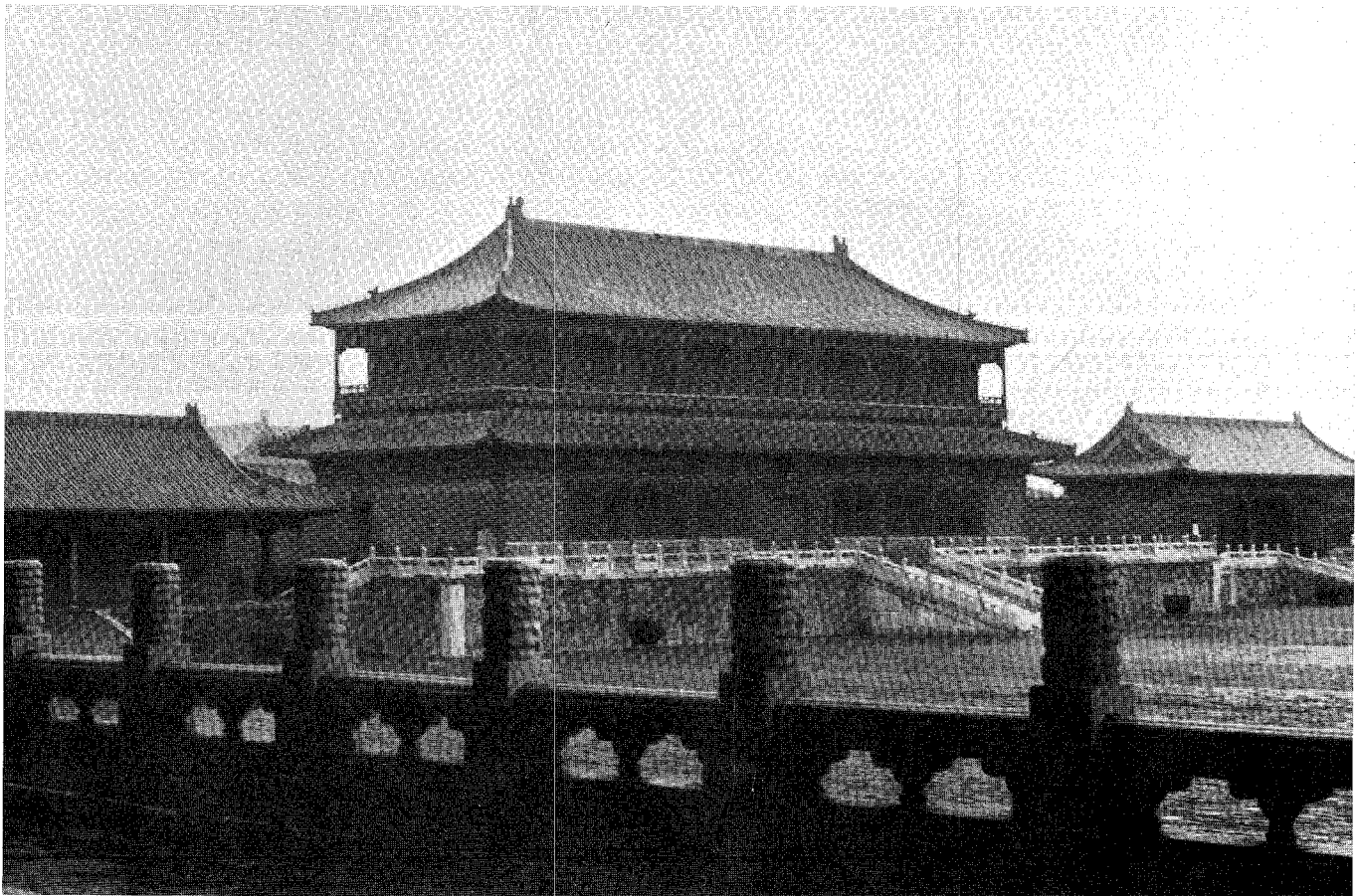
Although Low complained directly to the Tsungli Yamen about its dilatory and irresolute handling of the Tientsin affair, he understood the government's difficult position. The foreign office had to satisfy both the Western representatives in Peking and the Emperor's xenophobic advisors, who believed that the French had gotten what they deserved. Low was convinced that the disturbance at Tientsin had been a local affair, but the minister feared that Peking's silence would invite more anti-foreign outbreaks. Low urged the Tsungli Yamen to deny officially the rumors that the nuns kidnapped children and committed other evil deeds. He also pointed out the need for prompt prosecution of those actually guilty of the attack. To Washington he reported that such action would not be easy. Low noted that since the English government, for example, could not ascertain and punish Irish rioters, it was not surprising that the feeble Chinese government was having difficulty in Tientsin.¹⁴

Although he understood the imperial government's limitations, Low did not hesitate to send a strong note to the Tsungli Yamen in September, 1870, when fear of local hostility caused American missionaries to flee from their homes in Shantung province. He laid heavy blame on Peking for not taking forceful action. The imperial government's lack of "courage and resolution" following the Tientsin massacre contributed, in his opinion, to the unsettled situation throughout north China.¹⁵

The Tsungli Yamen's final settlement of the Tientsin massacre dissatisfied both Low and



Expansive courtyards encircled by hundreds of graceful and elegant buildings with gold tile roofs characterize the Imperial Palace in Peking – also known as the Forbidden City. It was here that Low participated in the first audience granted by an Emperor of China to Western diplomats.



Although Low was not confident about the prospects for peace in China, he did not believe that force had to be used.

Rochechouart but for different reasons. The Chinese government executed twenty people, exiled twenty-five, and only temporarily suspended the two local officials at Tientsin whom Rochechouart considered the leaders of the riot. In addition, China paid France a sizable indemnity and sent an imperial envoy to Paris to apologize to the French government. From the French representative's point of view, the Tsungli Yamen had not adequately punished all of the guilty parties, and the death and destruction had not been avenged. The outcome set a precedent, according to French historian Henri Cordier, that emasculated French policy in China for the rest of the century.¹⁶ Low felt, however, that the Chinese government, not French policy, had been emasculated. He believed that the Tsungli Yamen had done too little too late and thereby weakened its position relative to both its own subordinate officials and the foreign legations. Low described his own reaction to the Sino-French confrontation as one of "leniency" toward the Tsungli Yamen.¹⁷

In reporting on the Tientsin incident to Washington, Low characterized Rochechouart as "ambitious and unscrupulous, even for a Frenchman. His actions are controlled entirely by passion, prejudice, and personal ambition."¹⁸ In Low's estimation the French representative's conduct exhibited "in a clear light the petty jealousies which prevent the carrying out in good faith of what is popularly known as the cooperative policy."¹⁹ He accused the chargé of at-

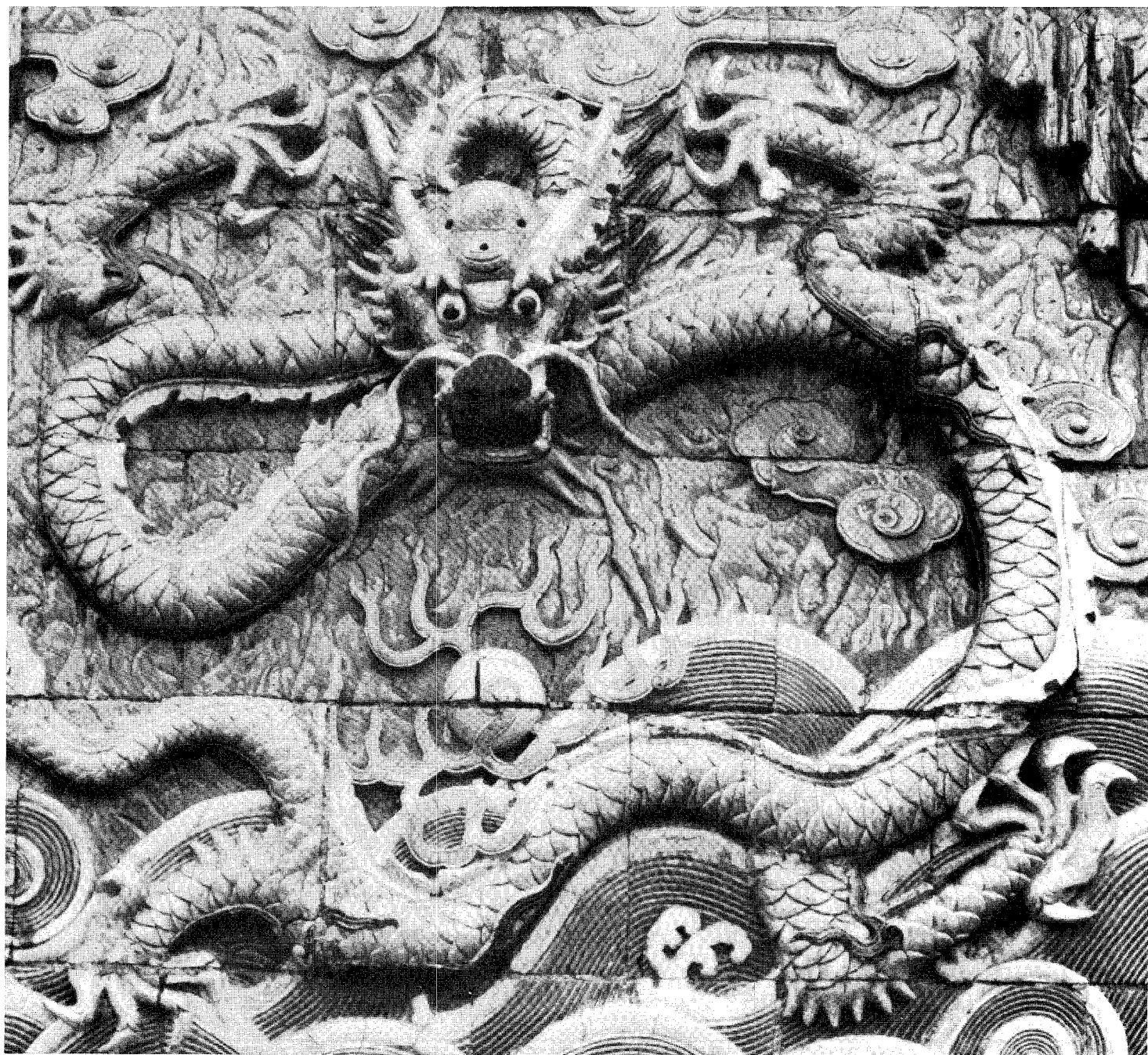
tempting to dictate to the Chinese and to the other treaty powers and of trying to discredit American counsels of forbearance. Low believed that both he and his predecessor Burlingame had always tried to be just to everyone. In the case of damage claims, for instance, Low explained that he followed Burlingame's example of seeking payment equivalent to the value of the actual losses and of never allowing any money to pass through the American legation or consulates.

Rochechouart, on the other hand, presented claims for 400 percent of the value of the losses at Tientsin and had this amount paid directly to him. Low did not know how much of this money actually went to the claimants, but the Roman Catholic Bishop of Peking told him that "the Tientsin riot was a good financial operation for the representative of France. And what makes the matter worse the Chinese hear and repeat the same stories."²⁰ Recalling other incidents, Low contended that the French had always been so eager to get a pecuniary compensation when a missionary was murdered that the Chinese now considered such events a mere monetary transaction. From the Chinese point of view it was money well spent. Low concluded that Rochechouart's actions simply represented the latest step in the long history of French "force and fraud" in China. Low proposed a different approach:

Let foreigners conduct themselves properly towards this people . . . Our progress may, and undoubtedly will be, slow; but it will be more sure and perhaps more advantageous to both foreigner and native than a greater nominal progress forced by wars and bloodshed.²¹

Although Low was not confident about the prospects for peace in China, he did not believe that force had to be used. He dismissed the conflicting-civilizations thesis of "irrepressible conflict," which Browne and the Western merchants in China advo-

The five-clawed dragon, a decorative motif throughout the Imperial Palace, was the symbol of the Emperor, the Son of Heaven who ruled all under heaven.





cated. Low classified the Chinese as a superior, although pagan, people who exhibited great “mental capacity, industry, and administrative power.” He maintained that the Chinese were not like the African Negroes or American Indians, and he charged that foreigners were wrong to believe that “a Chinaman has no rights that a white man is bound to respect.” The Chinese may have been ignorant of the West, Low observed, but the Westerners were equally ignorant of China. Like Burlingame before him, Low concluded that in dealing with China foreign nations “should pursue a just and firm course, and at the same time be prepared to exercise patience and forbearance.”²² The Tientsin massacre had not convinced him of the need for abandoning peaceful cooperation in favor of a forceful policy in Asia.²³

The turning point in Low’s own diplomacy came

in Korea the following year. The Hermit Kingdom increasingly attracted the attention of Westerners after the late 1850s because of the growing number of trading vessels in the waters between China and Japan. As more ships moved along the coast of the peninsula, frequent shipwrecks and the possibility of trade with Korea evoked the notice of Western officials. The Korean government, however, refused all contact with foreign governments. When Koreans presumably murdered the crew of the wrecked American ship *General Sherman* in 1866, Secretary of State William H. Seward wanted the United States and France to mount a joint military expedition to force Korea both to allow trade and to protect foreign seamen. Paris rejected Seward’s suggestion, but American officials continued to desire a settlement of the *General Sherman* case and to seek an

The U.S.S. Monocacy, part of Rear Admiral John Rodgers' Asiatic Squadron, participated in the naval bombardment that destroyed five Korean forts during Low's mission to Korea in 1871.

opportunity to "open" Korea. With these objectives in mind, Secretary of State Fish included U.S. relations with Korea in Low's responsibilities as minister to China.²⁴

On the day Low assumed his duties in Peking, Fish sent the new minister authorization and instructions to negotiate a treaty with Korea to secure "commercial advantages" and protection of shipwrecked Americans. Fish made arrangements with the Navy Department for Low to go to Korea with five warships under the command of Rear Admiral John Rodgers, commander-in-chief of the Asiatic Squadron. The secretary of state hoped that the Koreans, faced with a show of force, would negotiate as the Japanese had done in 1854 when Commodore Matthew Perry had steamed into Tokyo Bay with an American flotilla. Fish instructed Low to "exercise prudence and discretion" and to avoid using the warships as long as possible without "dishonor." The secretary knew that there were risks involved in the mission but never seemed to consider the possibility of failure and the effects of such a setback on America's limited and peaceful goals in Asia.²⁵

After receiving his instructions Low told Fish that he was "not sanguine of favorable results" in Korea but that he would make every effort to accomplish the mission. He noted that Germany and France had failed recently in similar efforts. Low reported that although Korea was a "tributary kingdom" of China (indicating a theoretical Chinese suzerainty), Peking had declared Seoul independent in its foreign relations. The Tsungli Yamen wanted no complications with foreign powers over Korea. Low knew very little about Korea, but he expected the Koreans to resist negotiations by "cunning and sophistry" and by force if necessary. He hoped for peaceful discussions but advised Washington:

It is a mistaken policy when dealing with oriental governments and peoples to allow insults and injuries to go unre-

dressed. Such lenity leads them to believe that fear alone prevents retaliation, and adds to their arrogance, conceit, and hostility.²⁶

Although he knew that his mission exposed the United States to almost certain insult and injury, Low proceeded to Korea without protesting to Washington that the whole effort might backfire.²⁷

Arriving on May 30, 1871, at the mouth of the river leading to Seoul, Low and Admiral Rodgers discovered that only their two smallest vessels could proceed further. The two small gunboats, hardly an intimidating force, went forward to survey the channel and were fired upon by forts guarding the river. The Americans returned the fire and withdrew. Meanwhile, back on the admiral's flagship the *Colorado*, Low had been able to contact only a few minor local officials. He also talked with some Koreans who claimed to be Christians and told him that the crew of the *General Sherman* had definitely been murdered. These events convinced Low more than ever that the Korean government would resist all contacts, but he did not want the Chinese and Koreans to think that the United States and the West were weak. He and Rodgers therefore decided that they must respond to the "unprovoked" attack on the two gunboats. Low doubted that a counterattack by Rodgers' forces would induce the Koreans to negotiate, but he was no longer concerned about a treaty. He only wanted to salvage the honor of the United States that lack of American foresight had jeopardized. Thinking of the *General Sherman* and the gunboats, Low wondered "whether the statements of this semi-barbarous and hostile people shall be received without question in justification of their acts of robbery and murder, committed upon the property and people of the United States."²⁸ Low sounded like Rochechouart at Tientsin.²⁹

Low and Rodgers gave the Korean government ten days either to apologize for opening hostilities or

to offer to begin negotiations. When the Koreans refused to do either, Rodgers' forces completely destroyed five forts that had fired on the gunboats and killed about 250 Koreans in the battle. Twelve Americans were killed or wounded in this clash, which was the U.S. Navy's largest involvement in hostile action between the Civil War and the Spanish-American War. In attempting to justify the use of force, Low told Fish that Oriental governments did everything possible to maintain the fiction of their superiority over foreigners, such as refusing to negotiate or sending only minor officials to meet foreign envoys. "My own observation and experience, as well as the experience of others," he explained to the State Department, "convinced me that concession on these points would lower my position, lessen my influence, and thus render the task more difficult; I therefore determined to adopt a firm and dignified policy"³⁰ After the American attack, however, the local Korean officials refused to send any further American communications to Seoul. Low concluded that

. . . the recent demonstration, which would have produced a profound impression upon any other government, has little or no effect, favorable or otherwise, upon this [government, which] . . . shows no sign . . . that there is any change in its attitude of defiance to all other nations.³¹

Low's frustration was readily apparent.³²

The mission had proved to be a diplomatic disaster. Low and Rodgers had expected the Koreans, faced by an intimidating force, to negotiate as the Japanese had done with Perry. Korea, however, was not Japan. When the Americans departed from the peninsula with several of their men and scores of Koreans dead, the United States had neither a treaty nor a settlement of the *General Sherman* case. In addition, the episode had a negative impact on Sino-American relations. The American failure recon-

firmed the opinion of many Chinese officials that the United States was as blustering and inept as the other Western nations. Many of the mandarins became even more recalcitrant toward the foreigners. Low's frustrating experience greatly disillusioned him about the prospects for peaceful and cooperative Sino-Western relations in the future.³³

In his final report to Washington on the Korean misadventure, Low admitted the complete failure of the expedition. He primarily blamed Korean recalcitrance for his lack of success. In defense of his decision to attack the Koreans he argued that Peking had paid close attention to the entire operation and that any evidence of pusillanimity on the part of the United States would have strengthened anti-foreign sentiment in the Middle Kingdom. Low predicted that China would never fully respect foreign governments as long as Korea successfully resisted Western advances. Low's recommendation following his Korean experience sounded quite different from his earlier views:

And every year that the Korean government is allowed to continue in its exclusiveness, increases the peril to the lives and property of foreign residents in China. If no adequate measures be taken to avert the impending storm in the East, the result will, I fear, be disastrous.³⁴

Faced with a decision in Korea Low underwent a transformation. He had always believed in the need for firmness in diplomacy and had criticized Rochechouart for threatening and then doing nothing at Tientsin. His previous counsels of patience and forbearance disappeared, however, in Korea. He did not return to China as a gunboat diplomatist. He continued to act cautiously in administering his responsibilities, but he became much less hopeful of a peaceful resolution of East-West differences. Low went to China believing as Burlingame had that the two civilizations were compatible. After the Korean

"If no adequate measures be taken to avert the impending storm in the East, the result will, I fear, be disastrous."

FREDERICK F. LOW

mission Low increasingly adopted Browne's view of the great gulf between the cultures.

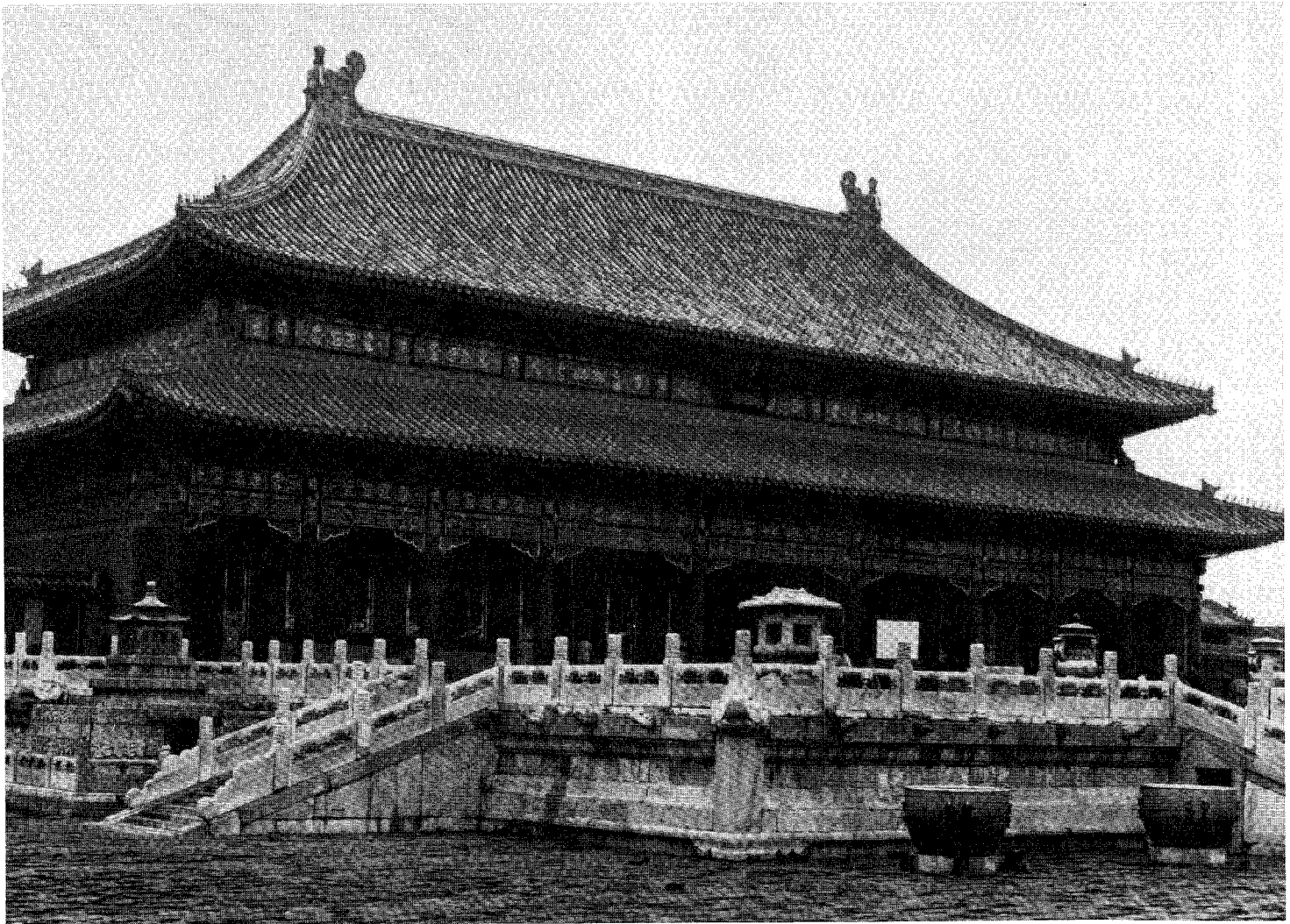
No single issue demonstrated more dramatically the differences between China and the West than did the Western diplomats' demand for an audience before the Emperor. The Chinese had always viewed the world as a hierarchy with the Emperor at the top and the sovereigns of all other countries arranged below as subordinates. The Westerners maintained in accordance with their own tradition that the world consisted of equally sovereign nations. Although foreigners had frequently neglected to respect China as an equal, they had insisted that the Emperor agree to receive the envoys from the West without the three kneelings and nine prostrations of the kowtow ceremony. The Chinese had just as stubbornly refused to abandon this ritual that symbolized the inferiority of all men to the Emperor. Finally on June 29, 1873, with Low representing the United States, the T'ung-chih Emperor granted the first audience ever held by a Chinese Emperor for Western diplomatic representatives. A few days earlier the Emperor also had received envoys from Korea, a tribute-paying state. The Koreans performed the kowtow and the Westerners did not, but the dynastic records termed all of them *shih-ch'en* (tributary envoys).³⁵

The working out of the details of the audience had required long and arduous haggling between the Tsungli Yamen and the Western legations. Even after

the Emperor agreed to dispense with the kowtow ritual as a gesture of his benevolence, his advisors insisted that other symbolic indications of his superiority be observed. The diplomats, however, remained strongly opposed to any procedures that might suggest the vassalage or inferiority of their countries. The ceremony to which all parties finally agreed was very simple. Low and his colleagues from Russia, France, Britain, Holland, and Japan were escorted to the Imperial Palace shortly after 6:00 a.m. After a wait of about three hours they were summoned to the Imperial presence in the Pavilion of Imperial Light. Each minister bowed three times while placing his credentials on a table ten to twelve paces from the Emperor's raised throne. With the foreigners standing, Prince Kung, the head of the Tsungli Yamen, dropped to his knees before the throne and conversed briefly with the sovereign. The Prince then rose and walked down the steps from the throne. He conveyed to the diplomats the Emperor's greetings and his acceptance of their letters of credence. The audience for the six foreign representatives lasted a little more than five minutes.³⁶

Although Low later termed the occasion a "new departure" in Sino-Western relations, he had approached the diplomatic ceremony displaying the same disillusionment that followed his Korean experience. He doubted that the audience concession would prove to be a "panacea" for cultural accommodation but argued that failure to insist on it would "confirm the high [Chinese] officials in their arrogance and conceit which will be damaging to foreign interests and lead to interruption of friendly relations at no distant day."³⁷ Low understood that the audience question assaulted the Chinese belief in the Emperor as the Son of Heaven but asserted that the ministers were duty-bound to press the issue in the interests of peace as well as foreign dignity. "Until the native mind can be freed from the belief that all

The Palace of Heavenly Purity is one of the most elaborate of the many audience halls in the Imperial Palace in Peking.



‘outside states’ are inferior,” he concluded, “there can be no real relations of peace and amity between China and western nations.”³⁸

Immediately after the audience Low returned to California on a long-desired leave of absence. He had requested the leave almost a year earlier in order to return home to attend to his personal affairs, which

had suffered greatly while he was in China. After he was back in San Francisco, he submitted his resignation from his diplomatic post. Fish accepted his resignation on April 9, 1874, and thus ended the government career of Frederick Low.³⁹

Low had never intended to make government service his profession and was happy to be back in the

familiar surroundings of the California business community. He quickly accepted a managerial position with the Anglo-California Bank and remained with that institution for twenty years. Under his direction the bank trailed only the Bank of California in the volume of its business within the state. Low was also successfully involved in a street railway, Hawaiian sugar plantations, lumber properties, and other enterprises. Although content to be out of government, Low maintained an interest in China. In 1880 he met with James B. Angell, when Angell passed through San Francisco on his way to Peking to negotiate the treaty that ultimately limited Chinese immigration to the United States. Recalling his own experiences, Low advised Angell that the chances for a successful treaty mission in China were doubtful.⁴⁰

Low possessed the pragmatism and common sense that one would expect to find in a successful businessman. His public service spanned slightly more than a decade out of what was otherwise a long career in private enterprise. He had entered the government in 1861 somewhat reluctantly and only in response to a popular call to duty at a time when the nation was gripped by the crisis of a civil war. When the war ended, he had expected to return to his business pursuits but instead found himself once again pressed into official service — this time in far away China. Although not experienced in diplomacy, he was practical enough to realize that a barrier of suspicion and hostility separated the Chinese and Westerners. The Tientsin massacre graphically displayed this antagonism shortly after his arrival. The bloody events at Tientsin, however, did not shake his own personal belief that conciliatory means could be found to reconcile the differences between Orientals and Occidentals. His hopes for peaceful relations foundered when the ill-conceived mission to Korea in 1871 ended in armed conflict. Even his unprejudiced audience before the Emperor of China

did not reassure him. Low was not a gunboat diplomat who advocated the use of force as the basis of Western policies in China, but his own experiences led him to predict accurately that hostility and violence, not cooperation, would continue for some time to plague relations between Chinese and Westerners.

The portrait of Low on page 240 is from the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. Prince Kung's photograph is a copy of one taken by John Thomson around 1870. It has been published in Clark Worswick and Jonathan Spence, *Imperial China: Photographs 1850-1912* (Pennwick Publishing, Inc., 1978), p. 20, which identifies the source as Samuel Wagstaff Collection, New York; and in L. Carrington Goodrich and Nigel Cameron, *The Face of China As Seen by Photographers & Travelers, 1860-1912* (Aperture, Inc., 1978), p. 21, which identifies the source as Stuart Collection, Rare Book Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation. The photograph of the U.S.S. *Monocacy* is a copy of one taken around 1870 by an unknown photographer and has been published in Goodrich and Cameron, *The Face of China*, p. 100, which identifies the source as Naval Historical Center, Washington, D.C., U.S. Navy, Collection of Rear Admiral Ammen C. Farenholt, N.S.N. (M.C.). All other photographs were taken by the author in Peking in 1977.

Notes

1. H. Brett Melendy and Benjamin F. Gilbert, *The Governors of California: Peter H. Burnett to Edmund G. Brown* (Georgetown, Calif., 1965), pp. 129-30; Eli T. Sheppard, "Frederick Ferdinand Low, Ninth Governor of California," *University of California Chronicle*, 19 (April, 1917):116-25, 133-40.
2. Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors*, 130-31; Sheppard, "Low," 140-42; Leo P. Kibby, "Union Loyalty of California's Civil War Governors," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 44 (December, 1965):318; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1890), 7:303-04.
3. Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors*, 133-38; Kibby, "Union Loyalty," 319; Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation 1850-1869* (Berkeley, 1927), pp. 204-07; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1897), 4:366-75, 405.
4. Quoted in Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors*, 133.
5. *Ibid.*, 137; Sheppard, "Low," 126; Hittell, *History of California*, 4:404.

6. David L. Anderson, "Anson Burlingame: American Architect of the Cooperative Policy in China, 1861-1871," *Diplomatic History*, 1 (Summer, 1977):239-55; Lois Rather, J. Ross Browne, *Adventurer* (Oakland, 1978), pp. 71-80.
7. Sheppard, "Low," 113-14; Low to Fish, October 8, 1869, Despatches from United States Ministers to China, National Archives (Hereafter cited as China Despatches); China Despatches, Low to Fish, April 20, 1870.
8. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, May 10, 1870.
9. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, July 27, 1870.
10. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, June 27, 1870. Over two years later Low sent the State Department a copy of the "Annals of the Society of the Holy Childhood," which he identified as the organization that sponsored "Romish" orphanages in China. The document solicited money for the purchase of children in order that they could be baptised. It stated, for example, that "with every half crown that is sent to China one infant can be bought." Low commented: "That children are purchased for these orphanages there can, I think, be no longer any question." *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, November 20, 1872. For a summary account of the Tientsin massacre and a discussion of anti-foreignism in China see Paul Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Anti-foreignism, 1860-1870* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 229-73.
11. China Despatches, Low to Fish, private and confidential, November 24, 1870.
12. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, private and confidential, July 27, 1870.
13. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, August 22, 1870.
14. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, August 24, 1870.
15. *Ibid.*, Low to Davis, private, January 10, 1871; Low to Fish, September 17, 1870; Low to Fish, September 26, 1870.
16. Henri Cordier, *Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec des Puissances Occidentales 1860-1900* (Paris, 1901-02), 1:386-90.
17. China Despatches, Low to Fish, September 28, 1870; Low to Fish, October 25, 1870; Cordier, *Histoire*, 1:383-86.
18. China Despatches, Low to Fish, private and confidential, July 27, 1870.
19. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, confidential, February 20, 1871.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, January 10, 1871.
23. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, January 10, 1871; Low to Davis, private, January 10, 1871. See also Paul H. Clyde, "Frederick F. Low and the Tientsin Massacre," *Pacific Historical Review*, 2 (March, 1933):100-08.
24. Tyler Dennett, "Seward's Far Eastern Policy," *American Historical Review*, 28 (1922):45-62.
25. Fish to Low, April 20, 1870, Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State, China, National Archives (hereafter cited as China Instructions); Fish to Secretary of the Navy George M. Robeson, April 4, 1870, U.S., Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1870* (Washington, 1870), pp. 331-33.
26. China Despatches, Low to Fish, May 13, 1871.
27. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, July 16, 1870; Low to Fish, November 22, 1870; Low to Fish, April 3, 1871; Low to Fish, May 13, 1871.
28. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, June 15, 1871.
29. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, May 31, 1871; Low to Fish, June 2, 1871; Low to Fish, June 15, 1871.
30. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, June 20, 1871.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. For critical evaluations of the mission see Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York, 1922), p. 453; John W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient* (Boston, 1903), pp. 313-17. For an account more favorable to Low see Sheppard, "Low," 146-48. See also James A. Field, Jr., *History of United States Naval Operations: Korea* (Washington, 1962), pp. 1-4.
34. China Despatches, Low to Fish, July 6, 1871. Admiral Rodgers' account of the mission and its results essentially corresponds with that of Low. See Charles O. Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers 1778-1883* (Baltimore, 1912), pp. 287-91.
35. John K. Fairbank, "The Early Treaty System in the Chinese World Order," in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Chinese World Order* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 260-63.
36. *Ibid.*; Tseng-tsai Wang, "The Audience Question: Foreign Representatives and the Emperor of China, 1858-1873," *Historical Journal*, 14 (1971):623-26; Sheppard, "Low," 144-45.
37. China Despatches, Low to Fish, March 25, 1872.
38. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, March 24, 1873; Low to Fish, unofficial, June 30, 1873; Low to Fish, July 10, 1873.
39. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, May 30, 1872; Low to Fish, August 8, 1873; China Instructions. Fish to Low, April 9, 1874.
40. "James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," 1:13, James B. Angell Papers, Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan; David L. Anderson, "The Diplomacy of Discrimination: Chinese Exclusion, 1876-1882," *California History*, 57 (Spring, 1978):40; Sheppard, "Low," 150-51; Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors*, 139.

REVIEWS

W. Michael Mathes, *Reviews Editor*

Documents for the History of Sonoma, California, 1848-1906: A Calendar

Site of San Francisco Solano, northernmost of the California missions which was founded in 1823, headquarters for the northern California forces of the Republic of Mexico, and scene of the Bear Flag Revolt of 1847, Sonoma was a settlement of major importance in the mid-nineteenth century. Following the occupation of California by United States forces in latter years it was the residence of many of the principal personages in the state during its formative stage, and a center of transit and commerce during the Gold Rush. Although its life as County Seat was short, the influence of Sonoma's citizens was felt throughout northern California for many years.

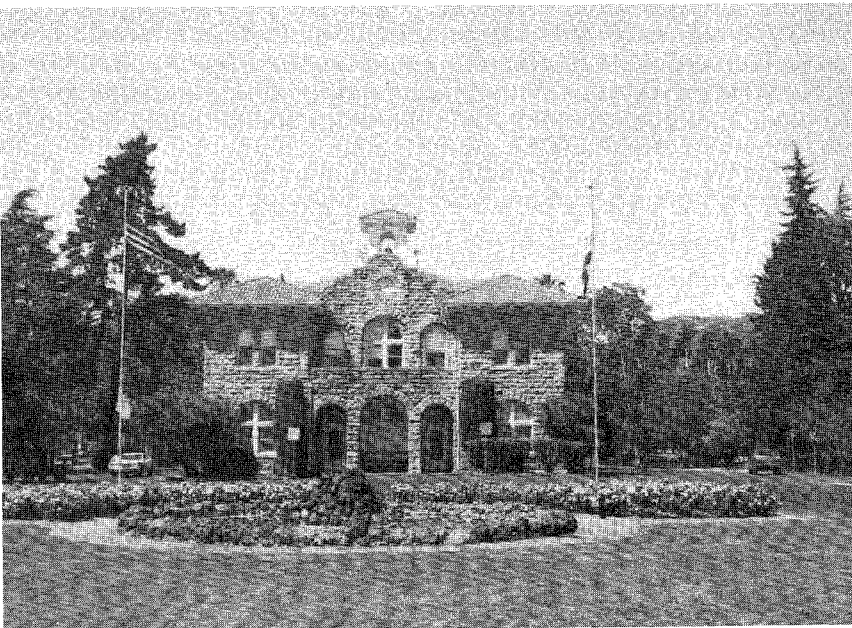
Fortunately, an extensive collection of documents relative to the early history of the area has been preserved in the Sonoma City Hall. Virtually untapped by historians, this collection provides a detailed insight into many of the problems faced during the early American period of California's history, locally and statewide. Transition from Mexican to United States territory brought questions of land ownership, citizenship and adaptation to new legal concepts to the fore, and often decades transpired before they were resolved.

The calendar of documents presented here has been arranged chronologically according to those agencies of municipal administration involved. The most extensive section, that of the City Council or Board of Trustees (CC), incorporating documents related to the office of Alcalde or Mayor, contains minutes, ordinances, resolutions, polls, election returns, oaths of office, surveys and general correspondence from February 2, 1848 to September 17, 1906. Second in importance is the section containing correspondence and minutes of the Board of Commissioners (BC) treating the problems of land ownership and pueblo boundaries between the years 1868-1887.

Lesser sections are those of Treasurer (T), pri-

marily containing bills and receipts for goods and services but providing a record of fiscal growth from 1850-1862 and 1889-1908, and Assessor (A) reflecting demographic development from 1851 to 1906. Records of the Board of Equalization (BE) reflect commercial activity from 1887 to 1907, and the section of miscellaneous Documents (M) contains correspondence of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and burial records for Mountain Cemetery as major items.

Many thanks are expressed here to Mayor Henry Riboni, City Clerk Mrs. Eleanor Berto and their staff for their courtesies shown in preparing this calendar. Hopefully it will open new research to expand historical knowledge of the unique, fascinating and beautiful City of Sonoma.



Sonoma City Hall, the location for a variety of documents on the history of Sonoma and an almost untapped resource for historians concerned with the early American period in California history.

CITY OF SONOMA. HISTORICAL ARCHIVE.
1848-1906. City Hall, Sonoma.
CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS.

CITY OF SONOMA. ASSESSOR.

- A 1851, February 18. Assessment of
1 J. P. Leese ranch.
- A 1859, May 21. William Campbell.
2 Resignation as City Assessor.
- A 1860, May 28. Oath. John P. Jones.
3 as City Assessor.
- A 1860. Assessor's Roll.
4 56 p.
- A 1862. Assessor's Roll.
5 80 p.
- A 1878, September 26. Notice ordering
6 payment of taxes on land.
- A 1880, March 1 — 1921, March 16.
7 Abstracts of of Title and Lists of
Encumbrances. 197 p., 1 map.
- A 1906. Sonoma County assessment roll.
8 Newspaper clipping.
- A n.d. S. F. Cowan, Assessor.
9 Account.

CITY OF SONOMA.
BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS.

- BC 1868, April 25 — 1882, July 15.
1 Proceedings. 207 p.
- BC 1868, May 5. Bond. Jacob R. Snyder,
2 as member of Board of Commissioners.
- BC 1868, May 5. Bond. G. L. Wratten,
3 as member of Board of Commissioners.
- BC 1868, July 14. Correspondence.
4 U.S. Surveyor General's Office. Order
of Compliance with Survey. 1872,
November 11. Department of Interior
re Survey.
- BC 1868, August 25. J. M. Leavenworth.
5 Protest re survey of land.
- BC 1868, August 28. Mark Wooster.
6 Protest re survey of land.
- BC 1869, February 27. Correspondence.
7 J. T. Green re purchase of land.
- BC 1869, May 18. Correspondence.
8 John B. Wood, Healdsburg, re survey.
- BC 1869, June 11. William Blanding.
9 Petition to purchase land.
- BC 1869, November 16. Correspondence.
10 Sherman Day, U.S. Surveyor General,
re survey.
- BC 1869, November 29. Correspondence.
11 John A. Brewster, U.S. Surveyor's
Office, re survey of Sonoma.

- BC 1870, January 31. Correspondence.
12 John H. Brewster, U.S. Surveyor General's Office, re papers of Pueblo of Sonoma.
- BC 1870, July 12. Correspondence.
13 Sherman Day, U.S. Surveyor General, re Dr. Brewster.
- BC 1870, November 21. Correspondence.
14 G. L. Wratten, City Attorney, to Willis Drummond, U.S. Land Commissioner, re Pueblo lands.
- BC 1871, July 27. D. O. Shattuck.
15 Petition for conveyance of land.
- BC 1878, June 14. Correspondence.
16 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. to G. L. Wratten, City Attorney, re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1878, September 24. Correspondence.
17 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re fees in case of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1879, February 8. Correspondence.
18 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1879, March 15. William Pickett.
19 Petition re sale of Pueblo land.
- BC 1879, April 12. Rachel J. Snyder.
20 Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
- BC 1879, May 8. Correspondence.
21 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1879, July 16. Correspondence.
22 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1879, August 8. Correspondence.
23 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1879, December 27. Correspondence.
24 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, January 6. Correspondence.
25 To Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, January 16. Correspondence.
26 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, January 31. Correspondence.
27 Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C. re survey of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, February 26. Correspondence.
28 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, February 28. Correspondence.
29 T. Reichert, U.S. Surveyor General's Office, re re-survey of Pueblo lands. (with registry receipt)
- BC 1880, March 6. Correspondence.
30 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.

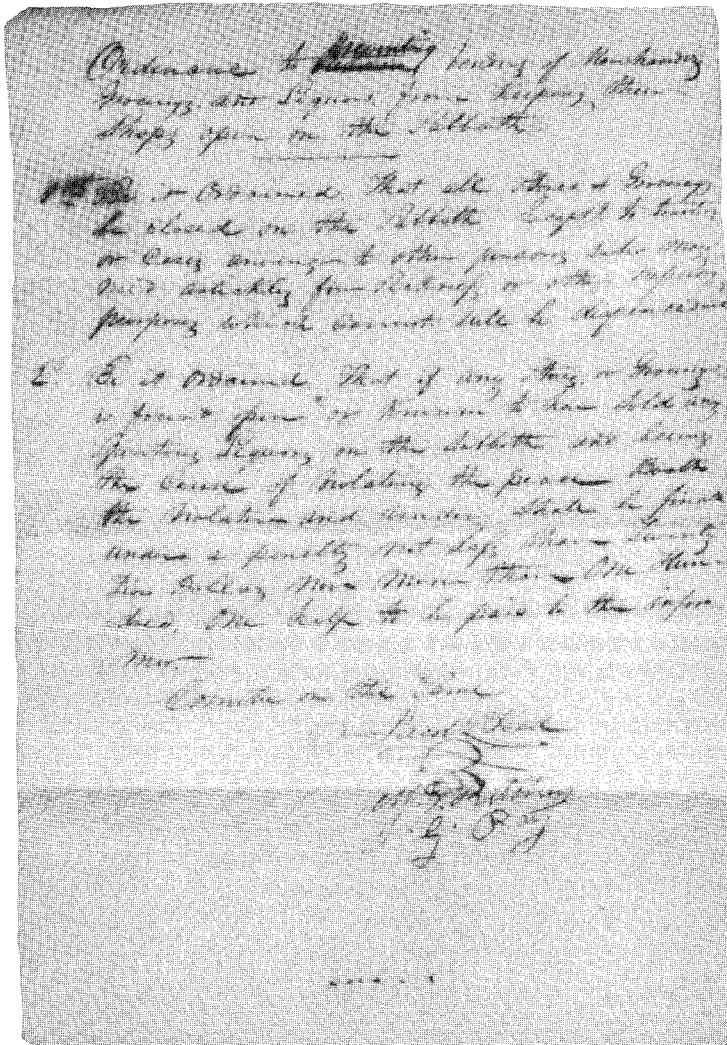
- BC 1880, March 20. Correspondence.
31 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, March 25. Correspondence.
32 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands. (with two registry receipts)
- BC 1880, March 31. Correspondence.
33 To Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, June 21. Correspondence.
34 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, August 25. Correspondence.
35 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands. (with two registry receipts)
- BC 1881, February 2. Correspondence.
36 To James Samuels, Sacramento, re Pueblo lands.
- BC 1881, February 8. James L. Smith and Charles Glover. Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
- BC 1881, March 12. Charles Glover.
38 Petition re Pueblo land.
- BC 1881, March 12. Subpoena. Charles Glover v. Board of Commissioners re sale of Pueblo land.
- BC 1881, March 12. William R. Sloan.
40 Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
- BC 1881, March 15. Charles Glover.
41 Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
- BC 1881, May 31. Deed of land of David Calloway and Sabina C. Tivenen, to Pueblo of Sonoma.
- BC 1881, June 29. Howe and Hall.
43 Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
- BC 1887, March 16. Notice of sale of Pueblo lands.
44
- BC n.d. J. M. Cheney. Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
45
- BC n.d. Communication. Gibson to E. E. Morse.
46
- BC n.d. Correspondence. John A. Brewster, U.S. Surveyor's Office, resurvey of Sonoma.
47
- BC n.d. Miles and Raisch. Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
48
- BC n.d. G. L. Wratten, City Attorney.
49 Report.

CITY OF SONOMA.
BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

- BE 1887, August 8 — 1907, September 4.
1 Roll Book. 118 p.
- BE 1900, August 18. Resolution.
2 Assessment of taxes.

CITY OF SONOMA. CITY COUNCIL
(BOARD OF TRUSTEES).

- CC 1848, February 2. Rules for conducting the meeting of the town council for the town of Sonoma.
1
- CC 1848, February 2. Ordinance. Requiring licensing of retailers of groceries and liquors.
2
- CC 1848, February 5. Ordinance. Requiring licensing for sale of liquor.
3
- CC 1848, February 5. Ordinance. Prohibiting the sale of merchandise, groceries and liquors on the Sabbath.
4
- CC 1848, February 9. Minutes.
5
- CC 1848, February 15. Ordinance. Requiring licensing of grocery merchants.
6
- CC 1848, February 15. Ordinance. Requiring licensing of drygoods merchants.
7
- CC 1848, February 16. Ordinance. Prohibiting galloping of horses or other animals on City streets.
8
- CC 1848, March 1. Ordinance. Requiring closing of shops on Sabbath.
9
- CC 1848, March 1. Ordinance. Repealing requirement of improvement of lots.
10
- CC 1848, March 29. Ordinance. Repealing rental on lots.
11
- CC 1848, March. Ordinance. Requiring licensing of merchants.
12
- CC 1848, April. Charles Prentiss.
13 Petition.
- CC 1848. Ordinance. Prohibiting gambling at cards.
14
- CC 1848. Ordinance no. 13. Requiring the taxing of real estate.
15
- CC 1849, April 10. Minutes. (fragment)
16
- CC 1850, June 4. Oath of office.
17 R. B. Butler as Clerk of Council.
- CC 1850, September 14. Minutes.
18
- CC 1850, December 11. Correspondence.
19 Lindsey Carson to A.C. McDonald re tax payment.
- CC 1851, February 15. Minutes.
20
- CC 1851, February 22. Minutes.
21
- CC 1851, July 8. Ordinance. Permitting the loaning of money by the City Treasurer.
22
- CC 1851, July 19. Ordinance. Prohibiting galloping of horses or other animals on City streets.
23
- CC 1851, July 19. Ordinance. Requiring attendance of City Council members at meetings.
24

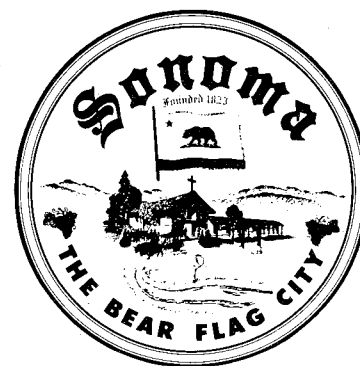


An ordinance (CC4) preventing vending on the Sabbath, 1848.

- CC 1851, August 16 — 1852, April 10.
25 Minutes.
- CC 1851, October 25. D. O. Shattuck.
26 Petition re lot improvement.
- CC 1851, November 18. Joshua S. Brackett.
27 Petition for payment.
- CC 1852, April 27. Minutes.
28
- CC 1852, May 3. Election returns.
29
- CC 1852, May 3. Election returns.
30
- CC 1852, May 6. Ordinance. Requiring
31 production of election returns.
- CC 1852, June 5. Minutes.
32
- CC 1852, June 5 — 1862, April 24. Minutes.
33 270 p.
- CC 1852, June 11. Deed of land to
34 Kennedy B. Talbot.
- CC 1852, June 19. Report of Committee on
35 Streets.
- CC 1852, June 19. Resolution. Construction
36 of school house.
- CC 1852, July 31 — 1853, March 12. Minutes.
37
- CC 1852, October 9. Ordinance no. 6.
38 Permitting the borrowing of money
from the City Treasury.
- CC 1852, October 18. Ordinance no. 7.
39 Establishing a burying ground.
- CC 1852, November 6. Correspondence.
40 Approval of Ordinance no. 9 to estab-
lish the eastern boundary of the City
of Sonoma. M. G. Vallejo, Mayor.
- CC 1852, November 6. Resolution. Land
41 of Rebecca Peterson.
- CC 1853, January 26. Ordinance. Requiring
42 licensing of merchants, grocers and hotels.
- CC 1853, March 5. D. O. Shattuck.
43 Resignation as Council member.
- CC 1853, May 6. Report of Committee on
44 Streets.
- CC 1853, May 8. Correspondence. Robert
45 Hopkins, Mayor, rejecting ordinance
to present claims of City of Sonoma
before United States Land Commission.
- CC 1853, May 12. Oath of office.
46 Robert Hopkins as Mayor.
- CC 1853, May 17. Resolution. Bond of
47 A. C. McDonald in District Court.
- CC 1853, June 5. Oath of office. James R.
48 Long as Clerk of Council.
- CC 1853, June 30. Ordinance. Requiring
49 payment of tax on land.
- CC 1853, August 8. Ordinance. Reducing
50 taxation.

Reviews

- CC 1853, August 19. Ordinance. Extending
51 time to David O. Shattuck for
improvement on Broadway.
- CC 1853, November 12. Ordinance no. 16.
52 Permitting the sale of land.
- CC 1853, November 12. Oath of office.
53 Pedro J. Vázquez as Councilman.
- CC 1853, November 12. Oath of office.
54 John E. McNair as City Councilman.
- CC 1853, November 26. Edwin A. Sherman.
55 Resignation as Clerk of Council.
- CC 1854, May 30. Resolution. Requiring
56 payment for lots purchased from City.
- CC 1854, June 3. People of Sonoma.
57 Petition re land.
- CC 1856, September 27. Minutes.
58
- CC 1858, February 21. Lewis Adler.
59 Petition for title to lots.
- CC 1858, April 12. A. C. McDonald.
60 Petition for loan.
- CC 1858, November 13. P. J. Vázquez.
61 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1858, November 13. D. Calloway.
62 Petition re lot improvement.
- CC 1858, November 15. S. W. Shaw.
63 Petition for improvement of lots.
- CC 1858, November 16; 1859, February 11.
64 J. J. Arrington. Petition re leasing
of land.
- CC 1858, November 19. William Ellis.
65 Petition to grade streets.
- CC 1858, November 20. J. C. Leyva.
66 Petition re lot improvement.
- CC 1858, November 27. Nicholas Carriger.
67 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1858, November 27. H. J. Clayton.
68 Petition for land improvement.
- CC 1858, December 11. F. Ehrlich. Petition
69 to lease land.
- CC 1858, December 11. J. C. McCracken.
70 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1859, January 8. D. P. Shattuck.
71 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1859, January 15. Daniel D. Davisson.
72 Petition re leasing of street.
- CC 1859, January 24. John C. White.
73 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1859, February 12. Committee report
74 re work of D. Davisson.
- CC 1859, March 5. Notice of land sale.
75
- CC 1859, March 19. James A. Griffith.
76 Petition re street closing.
- CC 1859, May 2. Registry of voters.
77
- CC 1859, May 21. Election returns.
78
- CC 1859, May 27. Nathanson. Petition to
79 purchase land.
- CC 1859, June 13. William Ellis, et al.
80 Petition re street construction.
- CC 1859, June 24. Ordinance. Requiring
81 City Marshal to remove dam and
obstructions in channel.
- CC 1859, June 24. Resolution. Removal
82 of dam and channel obstructions.
- CC 1859, July 15. J. Black. Petition re
83 leasing of land.
- CC 1859, July 25. Anthony G. Oakes.
84 Resignation as Mayor.
- CC 1859, July 29. Minutes
85
- CC 1859, September 26. Lewis Adler.
86 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1859, October 12. Memorandum re
87 bridges in Sonoma.
- CC 1859, October 24. Anton Krippenstoppel.
88 Contract for bridge construction.
- CC 1859, November 26. Correspondence.
89 R. P. Shattuck re construction of dam
and canal.
- CC 1860, January 10. C. B. Tucker, et al.
90 Petition re street closure.
- CC 1860, January 24 — 1861, February 25.
91 Minutes.
- CC 1860, June 23. Minutes. (fragment)
92
- CC 1860, July 2. Correspondence. M. G.
93 Vallejo, Mayor, re taxation ordinance.
- CC 1860, July 7, 16, 28. Minutes.
94
- CC 1860, July 14. Minutes.
95
- CC 1860, August 23 — September 8.
96 Minutes.
- CC 1860, October 27 — November 10.
97 Minutes.
- CC 1860, October 29. Oath of office.
98 Judson Haycock as City Attorney.
- CC 1860, November 13. Receipt, survey fees,
99 U.S. v. Mariano G. Vallejo.
- CC 1860, December 22, 29. Minutes.
100
- CC 1860, December 28. Notice to Settlers of
101 Sonoma Valley. Reporting suit against
United States relative to City boundaries.
- CC 1861, January 20. Correspondence. W. Ross,
102 Judge, re repeal of City charter of Sonoma.
- CC 1861, February 16. Correspondence.
103 Judson Haycock, attorney, re Wratten
v. Mayor of Sonoma.

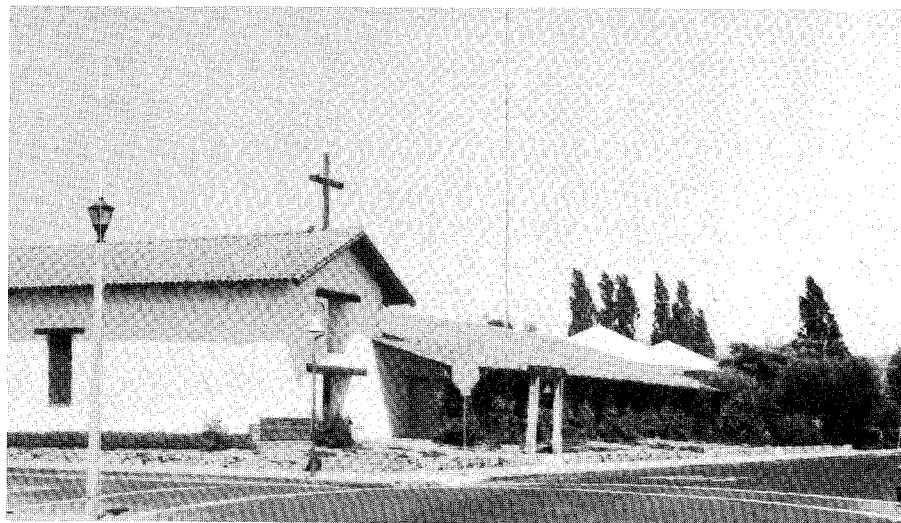


*The seal of the City
of Sonoma, "The Bear
Flag City."*

- CC 1861, February 23. Correspondence.
104 W. Ross to William Ellis and Fred Rohrer re passage of bill in California Senate.
- CC 1861, April 1. Tally list of election to fill
105 unexpired term of M. G. Vallejo as mayor.
- CC 1861, May 8. Oath of office.
106 William Ellis as Alderman.
- CC 1861, June 5. Registry of voters.
107
- CC 1861, June 5. Election tally for election of
108 City Treasurer and City Marshal.
- CC 1861, June 15. Minutes.
109
- CC 1861, June 29. Notice of auction of
110 Paulis lands.
- CC 1861, September 2. Michael Dunnaho.
111 Petition for purchase of lots.
- CC 1862, April. Ordinance. Ordering the
112 appeal of land claims of M. G. Vallejo.
- CC 1862, June 7. Minutes. (fragment).
113
- CC 1863, February 7. C. F. Leiving, et al.
114 Petition to halt grazing of stock in Plaza.
- CC 1863, April 15. An Act to amend an
115 Act entitled an Act to Repeal an Act to Incorporate the City of Sonoma; 1862, May 8, An Act to repeal an Act to Incorporate the City of Sonoma of April 4, 1850.
- CC 1863, June 27. Inventory of lots to
116 be sold at auction.
- CC 1872, May 7. Notice of election of
117 concession of lands to Society of California Pioneers.
- CC 1872, May. List of electors and election
118 results re sale of Plaza to Society of California Pioneers.
- CC 1879, November 21. Correspondence.
119 To Sonoma Valley Rail Road Company re petition for construction of depot.
- CC 1879, November 28. Sonoma Valley
120 Rail Road Company. Petition for a portion of the Plaza for use as depot.
- CC 1879, November 28. Resolution.
121 Erection of depot of Sonoma Valley Rail Road Company.
- CC 1883, September 3 — 1892, December 15.
122 Minutes. 312 p.
- CC 1883, September 3 — 1912, February 7.
123 Ordinances. 157 p.
- CC 1883, November 6. Ordinance no. I.
124 Concerning meetings of the Board of Trustees. Ordinance no. II. Concerning bonds of City Treasurer, Marshal, Clerk, Recorder.
- CC 1883, November 6. Ordinance no. 3
125 Concerning misdemeanors.
- CC 1883, November 6. Ordinance no. 4.
126 Granting licenses.
- CC 1883, November 6. Ordinance no. 5.
127 Fixing salaries of City Marshal, Clerk, Treasurer, Recorder.
- CC 1883, December 4. Resolution no. 2.
128 Appointment of committees.
- CC 1884, January 8. Ordinance no. 6.
129 Establishing streets and adopting an official map.
- CC 1884, March 4. Resolution no. 5.
130 Recovery of books, papers and other documents from County recorder's office.
- CC 1884, March 4. Ordinance no. 7.
131 Regulating the keeping of dogs.
- CC 1884, March 4. Ordinance no. 8.
132 Concerning misdemeanors.
- CC 1884, March 4. Ordinance no. 9.
133 Concerning destruction of City property.
- CC 1884, March 4. Ordinance no. 10.
134 Levying a street-poll tax.
- CC 1884, March 4. Ordinance no. 11.
135 Relating to posting of notices of elections.
- CC 1884, July 1. Ordinance no. 12.
136 Concerning time of the regular meetings of the Board of Trustees.
- CC 1884, July 1. Ordinance no. 13.
137 Regulating the keeping of dogs.
- CC 1884, July 1. Ordinance no. 14.
138 Establishing the duties of marshal.
- CC 1884, September 3. Ordinance no. 15.
139 Impounding of stock at large in City.
- CC 1884, September 3. Ordinance no. 16.
140 Providing for assessment and collection of taxes.
- CC 1884, September 3. Ordinance no. 17.
141 Requiring permits for concealed weapons.
- CC 1884, September 3. Ordinance no. 18.
142 Prohibiting the hanging of bells on stock.
- CC 1884, September 3. Resolution.
143 Enclosure of the City pavillion.
- CC 1884, October 1. Ordinance no. 19.
144 Preventing obstruction of highways and crossings.
- CC 1884, November 18. Ordinance no. 20.
145 Prohibiting improper ringing of church bells.
- CC 1885, June 2. Resolution.
146 Completion of sidewalks.
- CC 1885, July 1. Ordinance no. 20.
147 Providing for an assessment system.
- CC 1885, September 2. Ordinance no. 21.
148 Regulating the keeping of dogs.
- CC 1885, September 2. Ordinance no. 22.
149 Establishing an annual street-poll tax.
- CC 1885, September 2. Ordinance no. 23.
150 Establishing a curfew for minors.
- CC 1885, October 7. Ordinance no. 24.
151 Relating to disposal of sewage and litter.
- CC 1886, March 3. Ordinance no. 27.
152 Regulating the draining of land.
- CC 1886, July 7. Ordinance no. 25. Requir-
153 ing publication of delinquent tax list.
- CC 1886, July 7. Ordinance no. 26. Prohibit-
154 ing animal slaughter houses in City.
- CC 1886, July 7. Ordinance no. 28.
155 Prohibiting distribution of intoxicating drinks to minors.
- CC 1887, January 5. Resolution.
156 Planting of trees in the Plaza.
- CC 1888, March 7. Ordinance no. 29.
157 Concerning bonds of City Treasurer, Marshal, Clerk, Recorder.
- CC 1889, April 3. Ordinance no. 32. Fixing
158 western boundary of Second Street East.
- CC 1889, April 3. Ordinance no. 32. Fixing
159 western boundary of Second Street East.
- CC 1888, June 6. Ordinance no. 30.
160 Fixing salaries of Clerk, Marshal, Treasurer, Recorder.
- CC 1889, August 7. Ordinance no. 33.
161 Establishing a Board of Health to regulate the burial of the dead.
- CC 1889, September 4. Ordinance no. 34.
162 Restricting sale of alcohol.
- CC 1889, November 6. Ordinance no. 35.
163 Repealing section 2 of Ordinance no. 31.
- CC 1889, December 4. Ordinance no. 36.
164 Establishing a Board of Health to regulate the burial of the dead.
- CC 1890, February 5. Ordinance no. 37.
165 Organizing a fire department.
- CC 1890, March 5. Ordinance no. 38.
166 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1890, July 2. Ordinance no. 39. Establish-
167 ing a chain gang for working out fines.
- CC 1890, September 3. Ordinance no. 40.
168 Altering Second Street East.
- CC 1890, December 3. Resolution.
169 Payment for street improvements out of general fund.
- CC 1891, July 1. Ordinance no. 41.
170 Providing a system for the assessment and collection of taxes.
- CC 1892, January 6. Report of Newton V. V.
171 Smyth, City Engineer Santa Rosa, re sewage system.

Reviews

Mission San Francisco Solano, the northernmost of California's Franciscan missions, was founded on July 4, 1823 by Padre José Altamira.

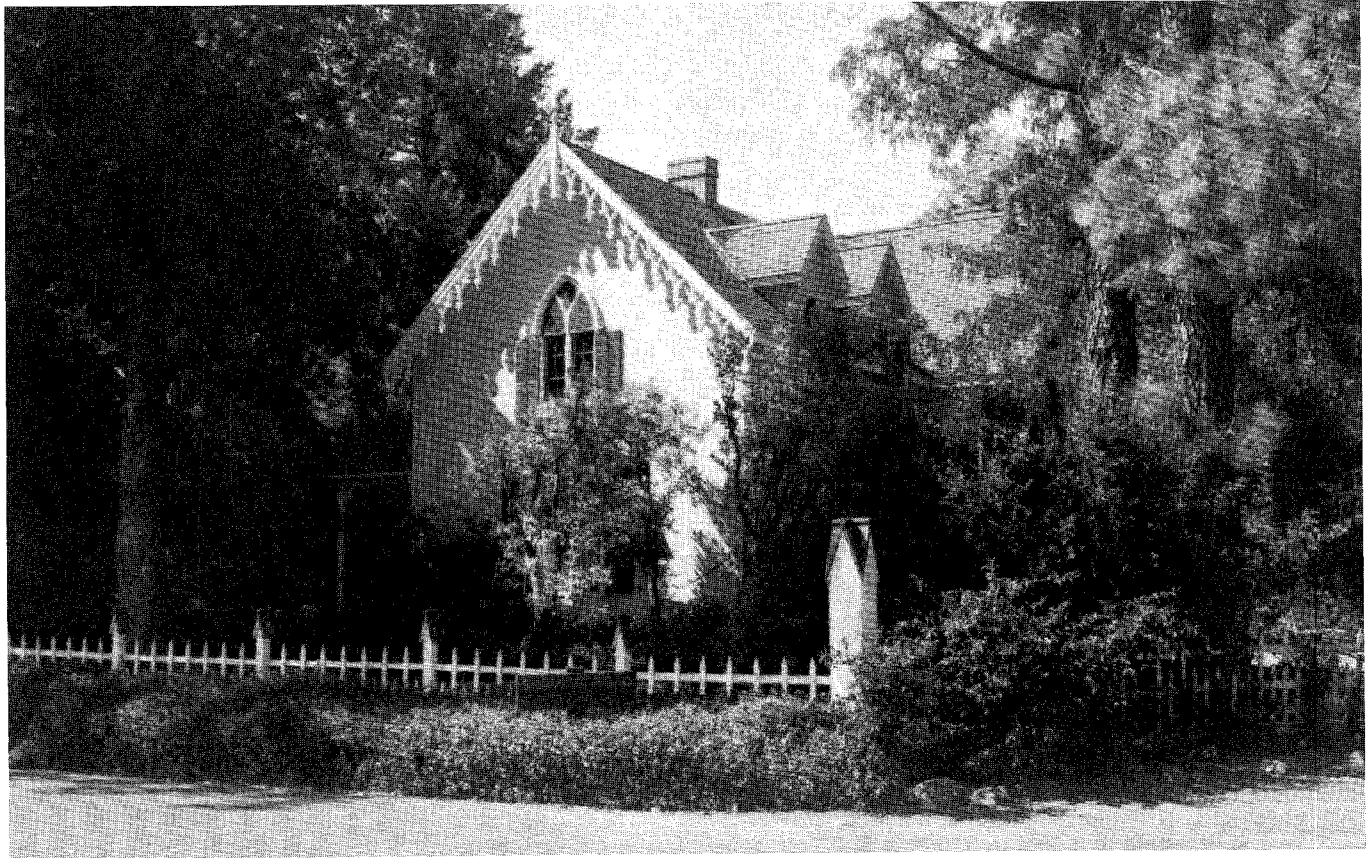


CC 1893, January 4-1901, March 6. Minutes.
172 29-399 p.
CC 1893, May 3. Ordinance no. 43.
173 Fixing water rates.
CC 1893, July 5. Ordinance no. 44.
174 Establishing a Board of Health to regulate burial of the dead.
CC 1893, December 6. Ordinance no. 44.
175 Establishing a Board of Health to regulate burial of the dead.
CC 1894, May 2. Ordinance no. 45.
176 Fixing water rates.
CC 1894, July 5. Ordinance no. 46.
177 Establishing amusement license fees.
CC 1895, January 2. Roster of Sonoma
178 volunteer firemen.
CC 1895, March 6. Ordinance no. 47.
179 Banning noiseless vehicles from sidewalks.
CC 1895, June 5. Ordinance no. 48.
180 Fixing water rates.
CC 1895. Ordinance no. 49.
181 Granting of licenses to peddlers.
CC 1896, April 19. Oath of office.
182 J. H. Scipp as Trustee.
CC 1896, August 5. Ordinance no. 48. Grant-
183 ing of licenses for travelling merchants.
CC 1896, September 2. Ordinance no. 50.
184 Determining the need for a permanent municipal water works.
CC 1896, September 21. Ordinance no. 49.
185 Fixing times for regular meetings of the Board of Trustees.
CC 1896. Ordinance no. 49.
186 Establishing nuisances.
CC 1897, March 17. Ordinance no. 52.
187 Determining the need for a permanent municipal water works.
CC 1897, April 7. Ordinance no. 51.
188 Fixing water rates.
CC 1897, June 2. Ordinance no. 53.
189 Calling a special election for bonds for municipal water works.
CC 1898, February 16. Resolution.
190 Repeal of Ordinances nos. 52, 53.
CC 1898, February 16. Ordinance no. 55.
191 Determining the need for a permanent municipal water works.
CC 1898, March 2. Ordinance no. 54.
192 Fixing water rates.
CC 1898, May 4. Ordinance no. 57.
193 Granting to Sonoma Electric Light Company franchise for transmission of electricity and gas.
CC 1898, August 3. Ordinance no. 58.
194 Determining the need for a permanent municipal water works.

CC 1899, February 1. Ordinance no. 62.
195 Establishing procedures for burial in Mountain Cemetery.
CC 1899, March 1. Ordinance no. 63.
196 Fixing water rates.
CC 1900, January 25. Ordinance no. 64.
197 Determining the need for a permanent municipal water works.
CC 1900, February 21. Ordinance no. 65.
198 Calling a special election for bonds for municipal water works.
CC 1900, March 15. Ordinance no. 66.
199 Calling a special election for bond for municipal water works.
CC 1900, August 1. Ordinance no. 67.
200 Fixing water rates.
CC 1900, November 21. Ordinance no. 92.
201 Taxing slot machines and card devices.
CC 1900, November 21. Ordinance no. 93.
202 Establishing licenses.
CC 1900, November 21. Ordinance no. 94.
203 Relating to licenses for undertakers, teamsters and printers.
CC 1900, November 21. Ordinance no. 98.
204 Establishing duties of sexton of Mountain Cemetery.
CC 1900, November 21. Ordinance no. 98.
205 Relative to duties of sexton at Mountain Cemetery.
CC 1900. Ordinance no. 64. Regulating the use of bicycles, tricycles and automobiles.
CC 1901, April 3-1910, August 15. Minutes.
207 497 p.

CC 1901, May 7. Ordinance no. 69.
208 Fixing water rates.
CC 1901, May 7-1916, July 5. Ordinances.
209 197 p.
CC 1902, May 13. Resolution. Electric street lights to be installed.
210
CC 1902, July 1. Ordinance no. 70.
211 Fixing water rates.
CC 1902. Description of land sold by Mrs. L.V. Emparan and Mrs. M. V. Cutter.
212
CC 1903, March 4. Ordinance no. 71.
213 Establishing the grade of Spain Street.
CC 1903, May 6. Ordinance no. 72.
214 Fixing water rates.
CC 1903, October 7. Ordinance no. 73.
215 Franchise to C. T. Ryland to construct underground conduits for electric lighting.
CC 1904, May 4. Ordinance no. 75.
216 Fixing water rates.
CC 1904, June 2. Ordinance no. 76.
217 Fixing bonds of City Marshal, Clerk, Treasurer, Recorder.
CC 1904, July 6. Ordinance no. 77.
218 Granting to the Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Company the right to erect transmission lines.
CC 1904. Ordinance no. 77.
219 Franchise to Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Company to install telephone and telegraph lines.
CC 1905, March 1. Ordinance no. 78.
220 Granting to S. Schockeu and Oscar T. Weber the right to construct a railway.

"Lachryma Montis" (Tears of the Mountain) the home of General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. Its name was derived from a nearby Sonoma spring.



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| CC 1905, April 5. Ordinance no. 79. | CC 1905, September 6. Ordinance no. 83. | CC n.d. Anton Krippenstoppel. Contract |
| 221 Fixing water rates. | 229 Calling for special bond election. | 238 for bridge construction. |
| CC 1905, April 5. Resolution. | CC 1906, May 2. Ordinance no. 84. Concern- | CC n.d. Minutes. |
| 222 New City Hall to be built and | 230 ing licenses for amusement facility. | 239 |
| furnished. | CC 1906, May 2. Ordinance no. 84. Concern- | CC n.d. Minutes. |
| CC 1905, May 10. Ordinance no. 80. | 231 ing licenses for amusement facility. | 240 |
| 223 Granting to San Francisco and | CC 1906, September 17. Order to John T. | CC n.d. Minutes. |
| Northern Pacific Railway Company | 232 Mac Quiddy to erect a new City Hall. | 241 (fragment) |
| right to construct a switch. | CC n.d. Peter Campbell. | CC n.d. Motion. Appointment of translator |
| CC 1905, May 27. Resolution. | 233 Offer of service as Clerk. | 242 of ordinances to Spanish language. |
| 224 Municipal improvements. | CC n.d. Peter Campbell. Petition | CC n.d. Motion. Attorneys be licensed |
| CC 1905, May 27. Resolution. New | 234 for grant of land. | 243 to practice. |
| 225 municipal building to be constructed. | CC n.d. Peter Campbell. Petition re | CC n.d. Ordinance. Concerning improper |
| CC 1905, June 7. Ordinance no. 81. | 235 street closure. | 244 location of public laundry. |
| 226 Calling for special bond election. | CC n.d. Committee report re | CC n.d. Ordinance. Establishing salary |
| CC 1905, June 7. Ordinance no. 81. Bond | 236 purchase of lots. | 245 of town constable. |
| 227 election for municipal improvements. | CC n.d. Correspondence. Henry L. Ford | CC n.d. Ordinance no. 3. Preventing the |
| CC 1905, July 5. Announcement | 237 to McDonald re payment for land. | 246 sale of goods and groceries on Sunday. |
| 228 of bond sale. | | |

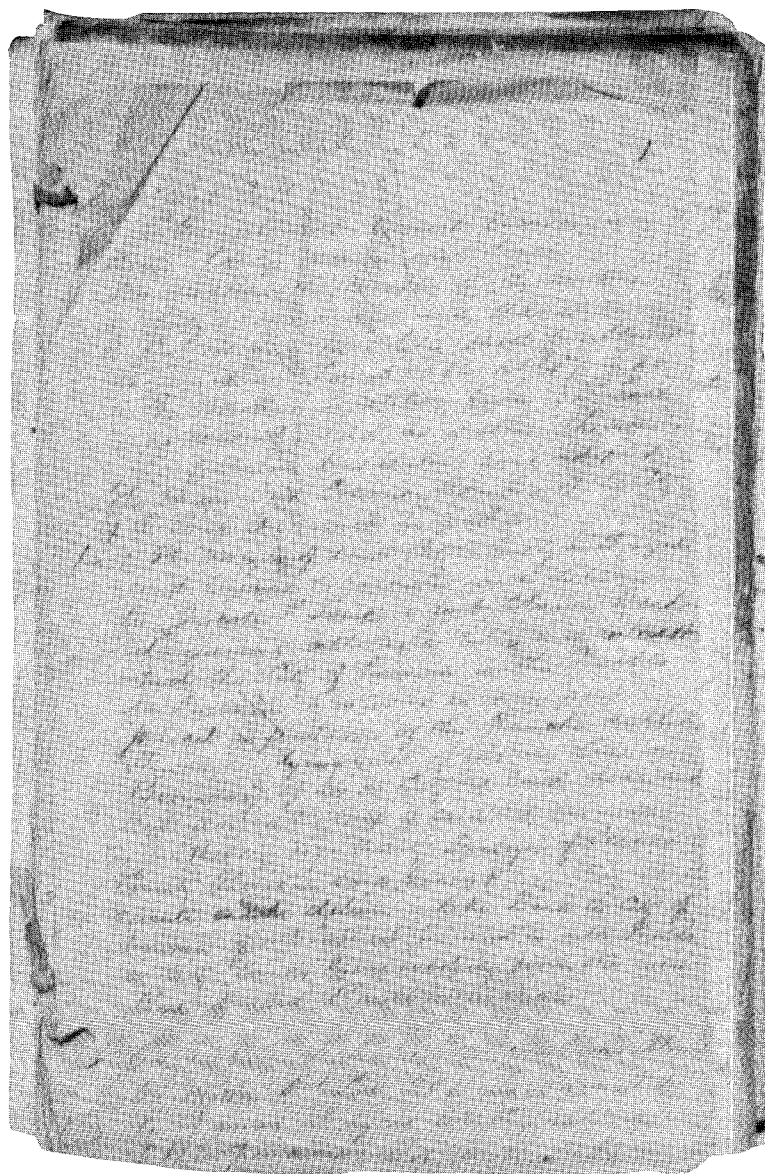
Reviews

CC	n.d. Ordinance. Prohibiting improper	CC	n.d. G. L. Wratten. Resignation as	T	1859, May 4. P. J. Vásquez.
247	ringing of church bells.	274	City Attorney.	26	Bill for services.
CC	n.d. Ordinance. Regulating fees of	CC	n.d. Declaration. Plaza of Sonoma	T	1859, May 27. Bruno and Capebohm.
248	officers of the Council.	275	proclaimed public property.	27	Bill for goods.
CC	n.d. Ordinance. Repealing requirements		CITY OF SONOMA. TREASURER.	T	1859, May 27. Bruno and Capebohm.
249	for lot improvement.	T	1850, June 19. Account with Secretary	28	Bill for goods.
CC	n.d. Ordinance. Requiring improvement	1	of State, San José.	T	1859, June 23. Daniel D. Davisson.
250	of lots.	T	1850, October 7. Peter Campbell.	29	Bill for services.
CC	n.d. Ordinance. Requiring licensing of	2	Bill for services.	T	1859, August 6. Bill.
251	grocers and dealers in wines and	T	1850, December 28. J. L. V. Sam, A. C.	30	
CC	n.d. Report of Committee on Construc-	3	McCracken, Benjamin Mitchel, Bills	T	1859, October 12. Alta California Job
252	tion of Bridges.		for services.	31	Printing Office. Bill for services.
CC	n.d. Report of Committee re licensing	T	1851, April 4. Peter R. Campbell.	T	1859, October 20. A. S. Berry.
253	of attorneys.	4	Bill for services.	32	Bill for services.
CC	n.d. Report of Committee for removal	T	1851, April 24. Peter Campbell.	T	1859, October 20. Bruno and Capebohm.
254	of ditch outside of town.	5	Bill for services.	33	Bill for goods.
CC	n.d. Report re salary of	T	1851, May 6. Peter Campbell.	T	1859, October 29. J. Chauvet.
255	City Marshal.	6	Bill for services.	34	Bill for services.
CC	n.d. Resolution no. 8. Alcalde to give	T	1852, June 17-1862, June 24. Accounts.	T	1859, November 19. A. Cuppinstanph.
256	public notice of requirement for	7	32 p.	35	Bill for goods.
	payment for lots.	T	1853, October 23. Jesse Davisson.	T	1859, November 19. D. P. Shattuck.
CC	n.d. Resolution. All ordinances require	8	Petition for money.	36	Bill for services.
257	signature of Alcalde.	T	1856, March 8. Oath of office.	T	1859, December 10. Daniel D. Davisson.
CC	n.d. Resolution. Establishing a	9	J. C. McCracken as City Treasurer.	37	Bill for services.
258	public reserve.	T	1856, April 12. P. J. Vásquez.	T	1860, January 18, 25. P. J. Vásquez.
CC	n.d. Resolution. Expenditures to	10	Bill for services.	38	Bill for services.
259	improve Napa Street.	T	1858, February 11, March 5. William	T	1860, January 28. John Morris.
CC	n.d. Resolution. Expenditures to	11	Copeland. Bills (3) for services.	39	Bill for services.
260	improve Napa Street.	T	1858, April 10. Daniel D. Davisson.	T	1860, July 28. R. H. Long.
CC	n.d. Resolution.	12	Bill for services.	40	Bill for services.
261	Grading of Broadway.	T	1858, April 19. M. Murphy.	T	1860, July 28. N. Long.
CC	n.d. Resolution. Illegal use of	13	Bill for services.	41	Bill for services.
262	church bells.	T	1858, April 19. Daniel D. Davisson.	T	1860, September. Gorham Lodge and
CC	n.d. Resolution. Maintenance of	14	Bill for services.	42	Ralph Kellerman, Bill for services.
263	sidewalks required.	T	1858, April 19. Daniel D. Davisson.	T	1860, October 9. A. A. Green. Receipt.
CC	n.d. Resolution no. 3. Ordering	15	Bill for services.	43	
264	seizure of lots.	T	1858, May 1. George L. Wratten.	T	1860, October 12. A. A. Green. Receipt.
CC	n.d. Resolution.	16	Bill for services.	44	
265	Public school house.	T	1858, August 21. D. Davisson.	T	1860, October 27. S. F. Cowan, Clerk.
CC	n.d. Resolution no. 16. Regulation of	17	Bill for services.	45	Bill for services.
266	crossings over sidewalks.	T	1859, February 3. Bruno and Capebohm.	T	1860, November 10. H. L. Lidstrom,
CC	n.d. Resolution no. 10. Requiring interest	18	Bill for goods.	46	Clerk. Payment of bill.
267	on monies paid for licenses.	T	1859, April 9. Bill.	T	1860, November 19. G. McConnell.
CC	n.d. Resolution. Secure services of	19		47	Bill for services.
268	F. T. Duhring as Council attorney.	T	1859, April 9. Bill.	T	1860, December 8. Peter Campbell.
CC	n.d. D. O. Shattuck. Petition re	20		48	Bill for services.
269	grading of streets.	T	1859, April 13. Bruno and Capebohm.	T	1860, December 22. Robert Moore.
CC	n.d. R. Snead and William Cubberley.	21	Bill for goods.	49	Bill for services.
270	Petition for lease of lots.	T	1859, March 2, April 18. J. L. Butler	T	1860, December 28. M. Wooster.
CC	n.d. Specifications for grading and	22	and J. J. Arrington. Bills for land.	50	Bill for services.
271	levelling of Plaza of Sonoma.	T	1859, March 12. John Leitz.	T	1861, February 8. John Ryan.
CC	n.d. Terms of sale of lots.	23	Bill for services.	51	Voucher for services.
272		T	1859, April 18. R. Leitz.	T	1861, February 8. S. F. Cowan. Voucher.
CC	n.d. M. G. Vallejo. Letter of gratitude,	24	Bill for services.	52	
273	as mayor, to citizens of Sonoma.	T	1859, May 4. Bill. Clerk fee,	T	1861, March 29. H. L. Lidstrom, Clerk.
		25	Mayor of Sonoma v. A. C. McDonald.	53	Bill for services.

- T 1861, April 8. Lewis Blanding.
54 Receipt for fees.
T 1861, June 8. Oath of office.
55 Charles Dierlam as City Treasurer.
T 1861, October 25. F. H. Wunderlich.
56 Receipt for land.
T 1861, G. L. Wratten, City Attorney.
57 Bill for services.
T 1862, April 5. William Ellis.
58 Bill for goods.
T 1862, April 5. H. L. Lidstrom.
59 Bill for services.
T 1862, July 21. Jackson Temple.
60 Bill for services.
T 1889, July 1-1908, December 2. Accounts.
61 4-89 p.
T 1897, December 1-1908, June 6.
62 Accounts. 2-53 p.
T 1905, August 2. H. H. Granice.
63 Bill for services.
T n.d. J. J. Arrington. Bill for goods.
64
T n.d. Bill.
65
T n.d. N. Long.
66 Bill for services.
T n.d. Report re Thomas Spriggs,
67 ex-treasurer.

CITY OF SONOMA.
MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS.

- M 1860, June 15. Correspondence.
1 M. G. Vallejo to Platón Vallejo
(A.L.S.). Reporting election as Mayor
of Sonoma.
M 1880, December 28. Receipt.
2 M. G. Vallejo to Sonoma Water Works.
M 1887, October 8-1891, December 1.
3 Account Book, City Marshal. 128 p.
M 1889, August 20-1904, 17 February.
4 Register of Deaths and Burials.
Mountain Cemetery. 4-41 p.
M 1892, August 2-1904, December 8.
5 Demands and Warrants. 89 p.
M n.d. Blotter Book. 3 pen sketches.
6 Printed maps from Senate Executive
Document 47, 1st. Session, 31st.
Congress. Sacramento Valley (2),
Northern California (3), Gold Region
(6), Los Angeles (1), Road, Missouri to
Oregon from Field Notes of
J. C. Frémont.
M n.d. Ordinance no. 26. Closing hours
7 of saloons in Healdsburg.
M n.d. Ynventario de "Lachryma Montis"
8 propiedad rural del Gen. M. G. Vallejo.



*Title page of Minutes of the Sonoma Town Council (CC 25),
August 16, 1851.*

Illustrations of documents are courtesy of the Sonoma City Hall.
All other photographs were supplied by the author.

Book Reviews

Ho For California!: Women's Overland Diaries from the Huntington Library.

Edited and Annotated by Sandra L. Myres (San Marino, California: The Henry E. Huntington Library, 1980, 314 pp. \$20.00.)

Reviewed by Valerie Sherer Mathes, Professor of History at City College of San Francisco, author of articles in professional journals on the history of Indian Women and other related Indian subjects.

"Westering women became the protagonists of a stereotyped version of the west as false as that of the Hollywood Indian," writes Dr. Sandra L. Myres in her latest book, *Ho For California!* To present a fresh approach to these women, instead of the traditional picture of a stoic woman awaiting danger or the reluctant overworked wife, Dr. Myres has selected and edited five diaries from the collection of the Huntington Library.

The diary of Jane McDougal, written in May, 1849, is one of a very few written by women who traveled across the Isthmus of Panama. Mrs. McDougal, after a short visit in California with her husband, decided to return home to Indiana with her daughter and brother-in-law and booked passage on the *California*. Her diary presents the usual problems confronting sea travelers, but she does note a potential mutiny which fortunately never occurred.

The California Trail experience is recounted by the diaries of Mary Stuart Bailey and Helen Carpenter. Mary, accompanied by her physician husband set out from their home in Sylvania, Ohio in 1852 while nineteen year old Helen Carpenter, accompanied by her husband and a large family left their home in Kansas in 1857. Both diaries describe the problems of overland travel; extremes in weather, the need to constantly secure grass for livestock, and descriptions of the various camping sites. Helen's diary, the longer of the two, includes some Indian ethnology and notes difficulties with Indians following their train. Fortunately, no attack occurred because one member of the party fired on one of the Indians, hitting his horse instead, and the Indians withdrew.

The Southwestern trail is represented by the diaries of Harriet Bunyard and Maria Shrode. Harriet was only nineteen in 1869 when she accompanied her family over this trail and Maria Shrode was a forty-four-year-old mother of eight.

A brief introduction which appears before each of the three western trails includes information on the route in general, conditions and diseases confronting the traveler, and comments from journals other than those included. The journals that follow are skillfully edited by Dr. Myres who notes that they would never become literary classics nor did they include thrilling adventures. Instead they are intended to present a day by day report from a woman's point of view, and are especially valuable because they include insights seldom given by male diarists. These insights pertain to domestic aspects of overland travel. For example, Helen Carpenter mentions that milk cans were suspended from wagon bows and while the wagon bounced along the trail, the milk was churned into butter. Other interesting aspects of various woman-oriented activities are also discussed in these journals.

This volume of five carefully selected journals, some of which have never been published, includes illustrations and a well researched bibliography. This well organized and handsomely designed volume is an important primary resource and a valuable addition to the library of any collector of Western Americana.

The Blind Boss & His City: Christopher Augustine Buckley and Nineteenth-Century San Francisco.

By William A. Bullough. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1979. 347 pp. \$19.95.)

Imperial San Francisco: Politics and Planning in an American City, 1897-1906.

By Judd Kahn. (Lincoln, London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. 263 pp. \$17.95.)

Reviewed by Charles A. Fracchia, instructor in the Department of Humanities at San Francisco State University, lecturer on San Francisco history at the Community College of San Francisco, and author of several books.

These two books on San Francisco follow in the recent and, alas, yet too limited tradition of such works as Roger Lotchin's *San Francisco, 1846-1856, From Hamlet to City* and

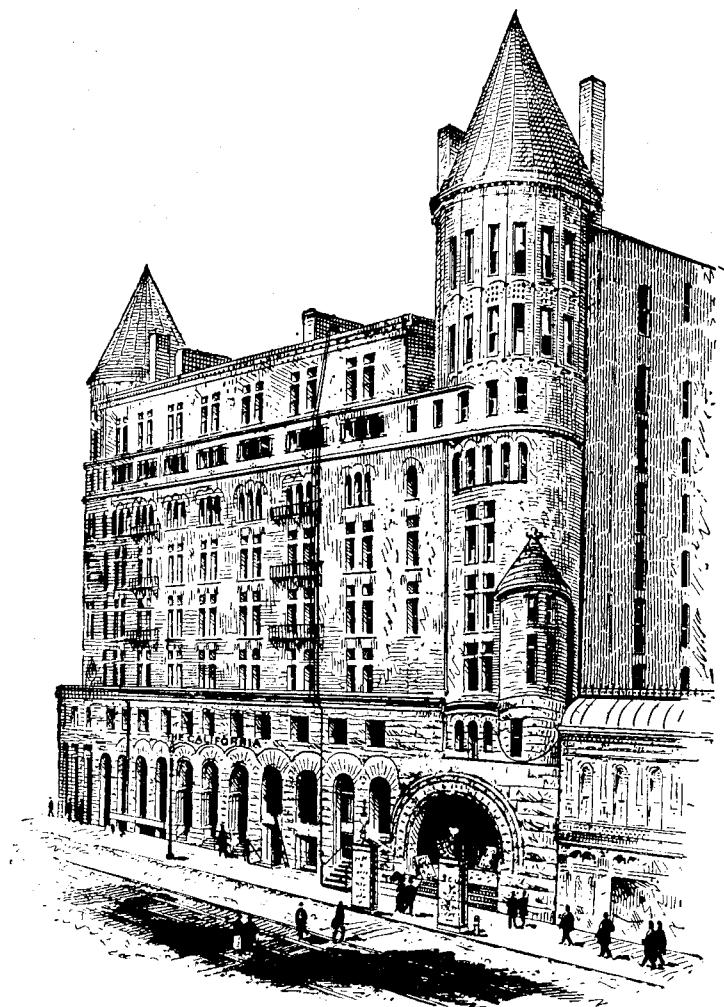


Peter Decker's *Fortunes and Failures: White-Collar Mobility in Nineteenth Century San Francisco*. What these books have in common is that they examine specific aspects of San Francisco's past in a scholarly way, contributing greatly to our understanding of the people and forces that shaped the metropolis. For a city with both a colorful and significant past, San Francisco has suffered from a plethora of books

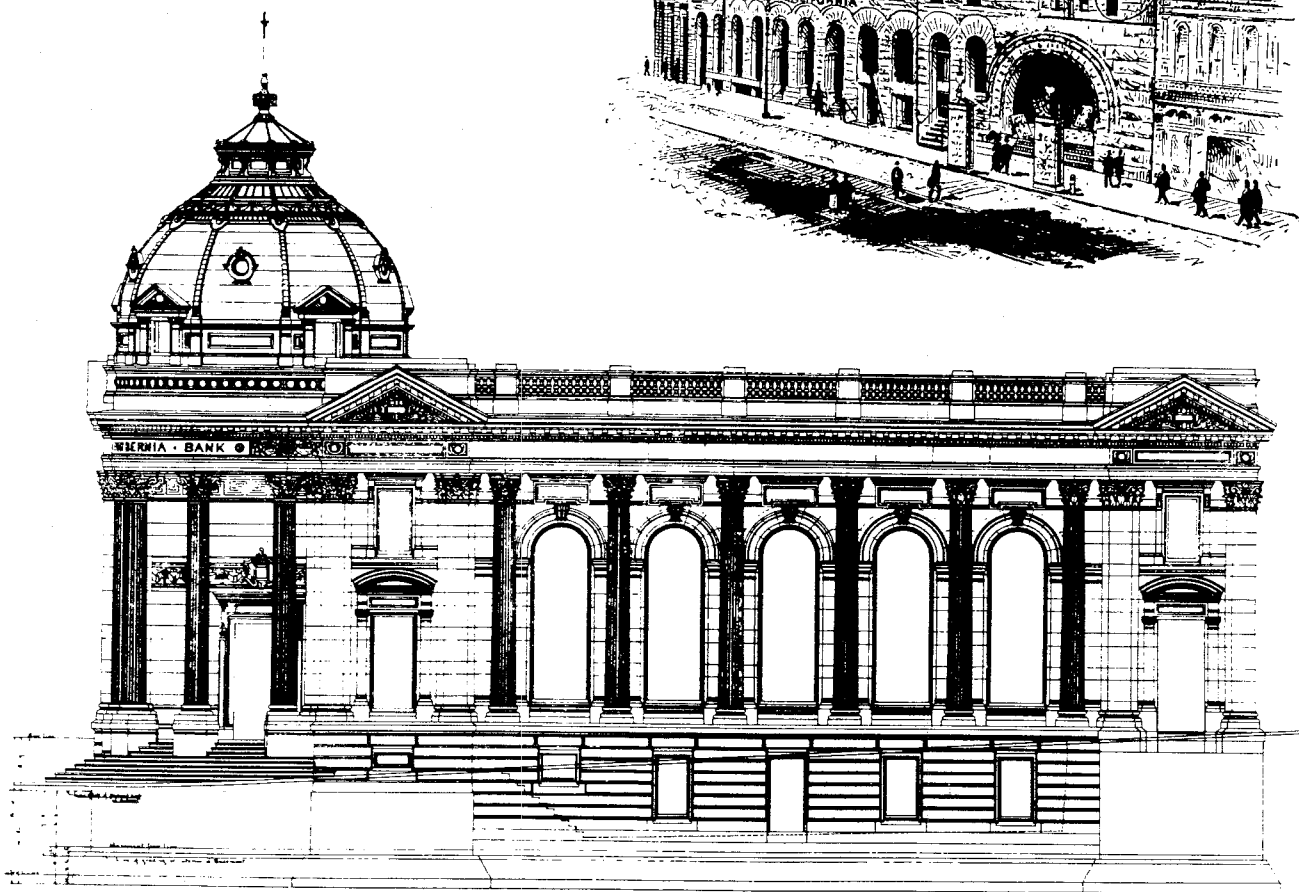
which are little more than popular, romanticized tales of the city and from a deficiency of well-researched, analytical explorations of the city's development. Both Bullough and Kahn have successfully contributed towards ending this deficiency.

Both books — one using biography as the tool of analysis, the other utilizing social, political, and economic

Following the great earthquake and fire of 1906, San Franciscans began to rebuild their city. Some were faster than others as can be seen by this "reconstruction" of the St. Francis Hotel.



The variety of nineteenth century San Francisco architecture: Top, The California Hotel, Bush Street near Kearny. Below, a plan for the Hibernia Bank as seen in California Architect and Building News for October of 1889.



processes — provide much needed studies of the roughly three decades between the *götterdämmerung* of 1875 and the earthquake and fire of 1906. The fascination of writers on San Francisco's past with its Spanish religious and military origins, the Gold Rush, and the subsequent quarter century has tended to cause neglect of the last quarter century of the nineteenth century and of the twentieth century. Bullough and Kahn partially fill this vacuum.

Biographies of significant San Francisco historical figures have in general been of little value (Lavender's *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, a biography of William C. Ralston, and Shumate's *George Gordon's California and San Francisco* being notable exceptions). They have tended towards popular accounts of trivial characters. Bullough's biography of Christopher A. Buckley, the "Blind Boss of San Francisco," is a biography in the conventional sense only in that it tells the life of the man in chronological fashion. Rather, Bullough is much more interested in placing Buckley in the broader historical kaleidoscope of the rapid urbanization of U.S. cities during the second half of the nineteenth century and the consequent emergence of the phenomenon of the city boss and his machine. Bullough paints Buckley as a quintessential nineteenth century-type — the self-made man; but in Buckley's case this individualism is directed towards municipal and state political control rather than towards business. In effect, *The Blind Boss & His City* is a case study in that nineteenth century process of urbanization and its effect on municipal politics; and in the process Bullough has provided a brilliant analysis of both the rise of a political titan who mastered the "new politics" and of a city whose demographic profile during the latter part of the nineteenth century called forth these political changes.

Although there are numerous differences between the two books, *The Blind Boss & His City* deserves to rank alongside the late Walton Bean's *Abe Ruef's San Francisco*.

Judd Kahn's *Imperial San Francisco* deals with the period following Buckley's fall from power in the 1890s; and, although he discusses individuals of importance during the time with which he deals — 1897-1906 — he is much more interested in more abstract forces: the intersection of politics and planning in San Francisco during this period.

Kahn gives the reader sufficient background on the haphazard physical development of San Francisco, so antithetical to its geography and topography, before discussing the principal theme of his book: the desire of a small oligarchical faction, led by James D. Phelan (a reforming Democrat who was instrumental in unseating Buckley as

master of Democratic politics in San Francisco and who served as mayor of San Francisco from 1897 to 1901), to transform the city of San Francisco into a more logically ordered, more aesthetically planned city; the obtaining of such a plan from Daniel H. Burnham and his staff; and the failure to implement the Burnham Plan, even after the Earthquake and Fire of 1906.

The careful tracing of these developments allows Kahn to discuss the confluence of the dynamics of labor, business, and politics during the last years of the nineteenth century. The reform administration of the capable, energetic Phelan is succeeded by that under the nominal tutelage of Mayor Eugene Schmitz, but actually controlled by boss Abe Ruef; and this administration is distrusted by both business and by such high-minded reformers as Phelan and Spreckels.

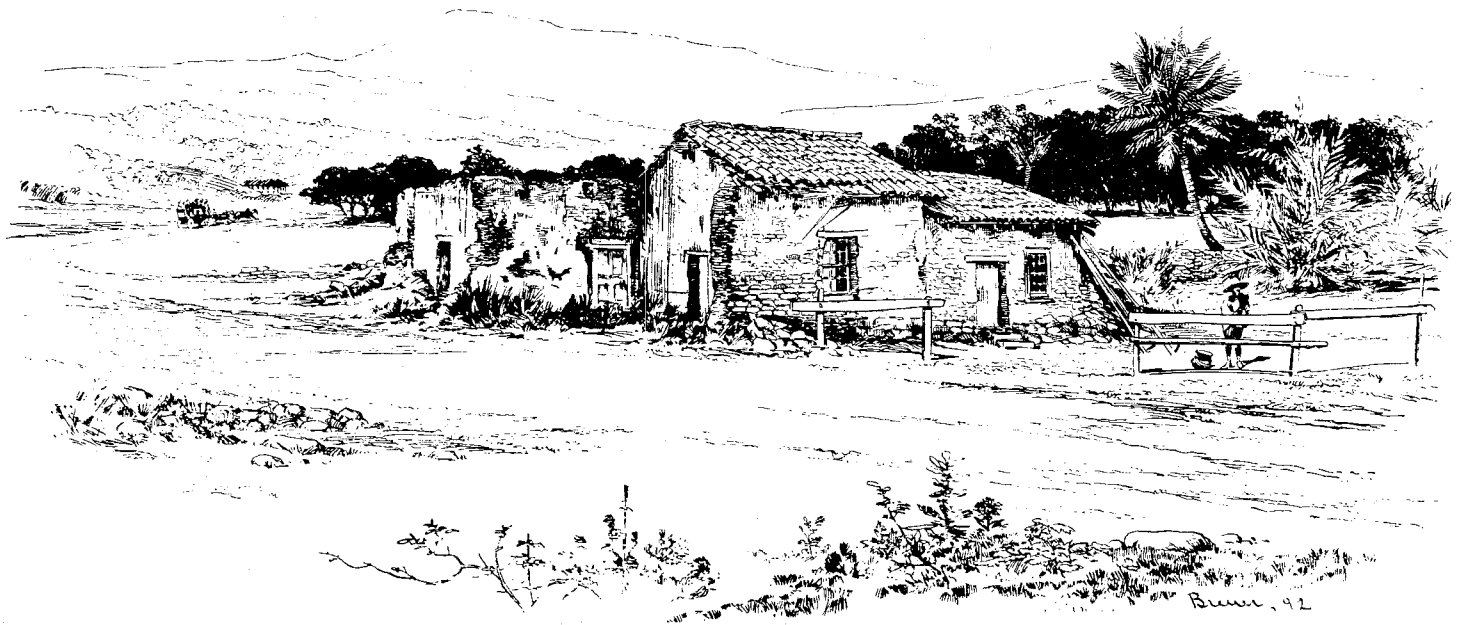
Thus, when the Burnham Plan is completed in 1905 and when the disaster of the following year gives San Francisco a "God-sent" opportunity to implement it, the lack of a forceful coalition to do so, the strong *laissez-faire* proclivities of the times, the narrow interests of property holders, and the reconstruction conservatism that Kahn maintains is a factor common to all cities that have been destroyed act in concert to rebuild San Francisco as it existed before 1906.

My two criticisms of *Imperial San Francisco* are: (1) that Kahn fails to integrate these local issues into larger questions, such as whether there was a connection between the failure to implement the Burnham Plan and San Francisco's comparative decline, beginning around 1880, with regard to population and economic factors in relation to other cities in the West and (2) that he did not provide a more extensive description and critique of the Burnham Plan and its continuing influence on San Francisco's city planning.

Both Bullough and Kahn give evidence of being imbued with recent trends in urban historiography: most specifically, a consciousness that urban developments take place in a much broader context, partake in national trends. This consciousness has been previously lacking in accounts of San Francisco, giving rise to a distorted perspective on the city's development, often implying that its urban experience was unique and occurred in a vacuum.

The Blind Boss & His City and *Imperial San Francisco* are both superb contributions to Western urban history and excellent, scholarly — and well written — contributions to the mosaic of San Francisco's urban experience. As such, they are to be recommended to all serious students of San Francisco; but they also provide interesting reading for the general reader who is interested in San Francisco's past.

Nineteenth century adobe ruins near Santa Barbara



Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios.

By Albert Camarillo. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979. xiii, 326 pp. \$17.50.)

The Los Angeles Barrio 1850-1890: A Social History.

By Richard Griswold del Castillo. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. xiv, 217 pp. \$16.95.)

Reviewed by Enrique Cortés, Professor of History, California State University, Dominguez Hills, author of Relaciones entre México y el Japón durante el Porfiriato and articles on the Mexican American.

These two books give us an insight into nineteenth- and twentieth-century Southern California urban history and contribute importantly to our understanding of one of the largest ethnic groups in the western United States, with its

different racial, cultural, socio-economic, and political characteristics. Up to recent times the history of the Mexican American has been a scarcely charted territory, done mainly by non-Mexican Americans applying traditional methodology. However, these two young Mexican American historians have coupled traditional investigation with methods of quantitative analysis to create a lucid, informative social history of Southern California.

Both authors researched the pertinent published literature, dissertations and theses, the Spanish-language press, archival sources, census data, city directories, and government publications (Camarillo also conducted oral interviews). The tables, illustrations, appendixes, and glossaries add to the value of these two works. Their footnotes are abundant: however, in Camarillo's study, they are given toward the end of the book, a convenience for the printer but a nuisance for the reader.

Camarillo's urban history of the Chicanos in Southern California from 1848 to 1930 focuses on Santa Barbara as a case study, with two chapters comparing its historical development with that of Los Angeles, San Diego, and San

San Pedro Street in old Los Angeles

Bernardino, paying special attention to the creation and growth of their respective barrios. By tracing the origin of the Chicano working class to the pastoral economy of California's Mexican Period, and by examining its evolution and later incorporation into the Anglo American capitalistic economy, he shows how the socio-economic and political relations between Chicanos and Anglos were established by the end of the nineteenth century; also, how these developments were the cause of the socio-economic subordination of Chicano workers, since the capitalistic labor market forced them, together with the Mexican immigrant, into an unskilled and semiskilled status in this century.

Among the merits of Camarillo's book is its having "rescued" the early history of the Chicano and its demonstration of the role played in that history by women, language, socio-cultural activities, and Chicano organizations as catalytic agents.

Griswold del Castillo's book, using as a case study Los Angeles, the largest Mexican town in Southern California, examines the metamorphosis that took place during the first four decades of United States California. He describes how the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of the Mexican frontier-town of Nuestra Senora Reina de los Angeles became a

marginal ethnic enclave in the Anglo community called Los Angeles. The Anglo culture in its most brutal and progressive forms had a greater impact on the Mexican towns, which were swiftly changed.

His analysis explores the economic, familial, social, political, religious and geographical accommodation of the Mexican American to the changing circumstances of Anglo domination. The people of Sonora Town, as the old pueblo section became known, stubbornly and constructively resisted vice, discrimination, and efforts at repatriation. And isolated though they were, their grim determination to survive led to a creative ethnic consciousness and resulted in the publication of their own newspapers, and in the formation of *mutualista* and other social and political organizations sponsoring socio-cultural activities and giving the barrio a life apart from the Anglo society. To Griswold del Castillo, therein lies the historical origin of the urban Chicano with his assertion of ethnic identity and pride.

Fresh and original, these two books, each a combination of ethnic consciousness and solid scholarship, help to fill a void that has long existed in the history of California.

The photograph and illustrations are from the CHS Library.

Book Notices

Compiled by Gary F. Kurutz

Philippe Bunau-Varilla. The Man Behind the Panama Canal. By Gustave Anguizola. (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1980. 472 pp. \$25.95). Anguizola, in this well-documented work, presents the history of the canal and the significant contributions of Bunau-Varilla, the obscure French engineer who made possible its construction.

California Civilization. An Interpretation. By Howard A. DeWitt. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 1980. 303 pp. \$14.95). According to the author of this textbook, "the myths surrounding California history are long standing, and the need to break down stereotypes is one of the major reasons for this reinterpretation of the Golden State."

The Making of Oregon. A Study in Historical Geography. By Samuel N. and Emily F. Dicken. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1979. 232 pp. \$12.95). "The Making of Oregon delineates Man's role in shaping the state from the time of indigenous Indians, through the pioneer period, to the urbanization of our time, recounting the changes on the landscape made by all who have populated Oregon."

The Road West. Saga of the 35th Parallel. By Bertha S. Dodge. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980. 215 pp. \$15.95). This narrative recounts the story of the intrepid explorers, surveyors, scientists, and pioneers who opened the Southwest from Fort Smith, Arkansas to Los Angeles. Dodge begins with the Coronado expedition and ends with the novel camel experiments of Lt. Edward F. Beale.

Biography of a Small Town. By Elvin Hatch. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979. 291 pp.). Hatch, an anthropologist, describes the history of the typical American farming town by tracing the story of a fictionalized central California rural community from its beginnings in the 1880s to the mid-1960s.

Photographing the Frontier. By Dorothy and Thomas Hoobler. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1980. 192 pp. \$9.95). Designed for juveniles, this represents the first study to offer broad coverage of the American West's pioneer photographers. The authors give general coverage of California and the images of Vance, Shew, Fardon, Muybridge and Watkins.

Steinbeck's Street: Cannery Row. By Mary Rodriguez and Maxine Knox. (San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1980. 97 pp. \$6.95). Appealing to the tourist and history buff, the authors have presented an illustrated literary and historical

guidebook to the street made famous by Steinbeck's classic novels. Appropriately, the book concludes with 42 prize winning recipes for sardines.

Preliminary Listing of the San Francisco Manuscript Collections in the Library of the California Historical Society. By Diana Lachatanere. (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1980. 64 pp. \$6.30). This compilation describes in detail 266 manuscript collections in the Society's library. It is a valuable source for all students and scholars of the city's history.

Cities of the American West. A History of Frontier Urban Planning. By John W. Reps. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979. 827 pp. \$75.00). "This book virtually constitutes a historical atlas of Western cities and towns and provides a vivid picture of urban planning and development beyond the Mississippi." Embellished with over 530 illustrations (35 in color), Reps, in this monumental work, devotes chapters to California's Spanish towns, Gold Rush settlements, and the urban growth and expansion of Northern and Southern California.

The Jews of the West. The Metropolitan Years. Edited by Moses Rischin. (Berkeley: Western Jewish History Center, 1979. 157 pp. \$5.95). Seven urban and ethnic historians have contributed essays "devoted to illuminating the experience of the Jews of the West, concentrating on four major metropolitan centers, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver and Portland." Articles range from the story of pioneer merchants in San Francisco to the volatile politics of Hollywood from 1933 to 1953.

Memoirs of a San Francisco Organ Builder. By Louis J. Schoenstein. (San Francisco: Cue Publications, 1977. 701 pp. \$15.00). This reminiscence, written by a native San Francisco organ builder, covers not only the story of the great organs, their makers, and organists but also the church and music history of the Bay area.

The Story of the Mine. As Illustrated by the Great Comstock Lode of Nevada. By Charles Howard Shinn. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1980. 146 pp. \$6.75). Known as a major source on the Big Bonanza, the reprint of the 1910 edition of Shinn's book is the first in a series of publications "to revive the literature and history of Nevada's early years."

Jack London First Editions. By Robert W. Martens and



James E. Sission. (Oakland: Star Rover House, 1979. 139 pp. \$24.95). Sission and Martens, two long time London scholars have compiled a detailed guide to the collection of London first editions. It is a valuable work for all London collectors and bibliophiles and contains listings of bibliographic points and photographs of these prized volumes.

Historic Preservation in Small Towns. A Manual of Practice. By Walter C. Kidney and Arthur P. Ziegler, Jr. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1980. 146 pp. \$6.75). Two Pittsburgh preservationists offer a practical "how-to" manual on the means of saving historic buildings in small towns and urban areas.

The illustration is from the CHS Library.

California Check List

By Joy Berry, Reference Librarian

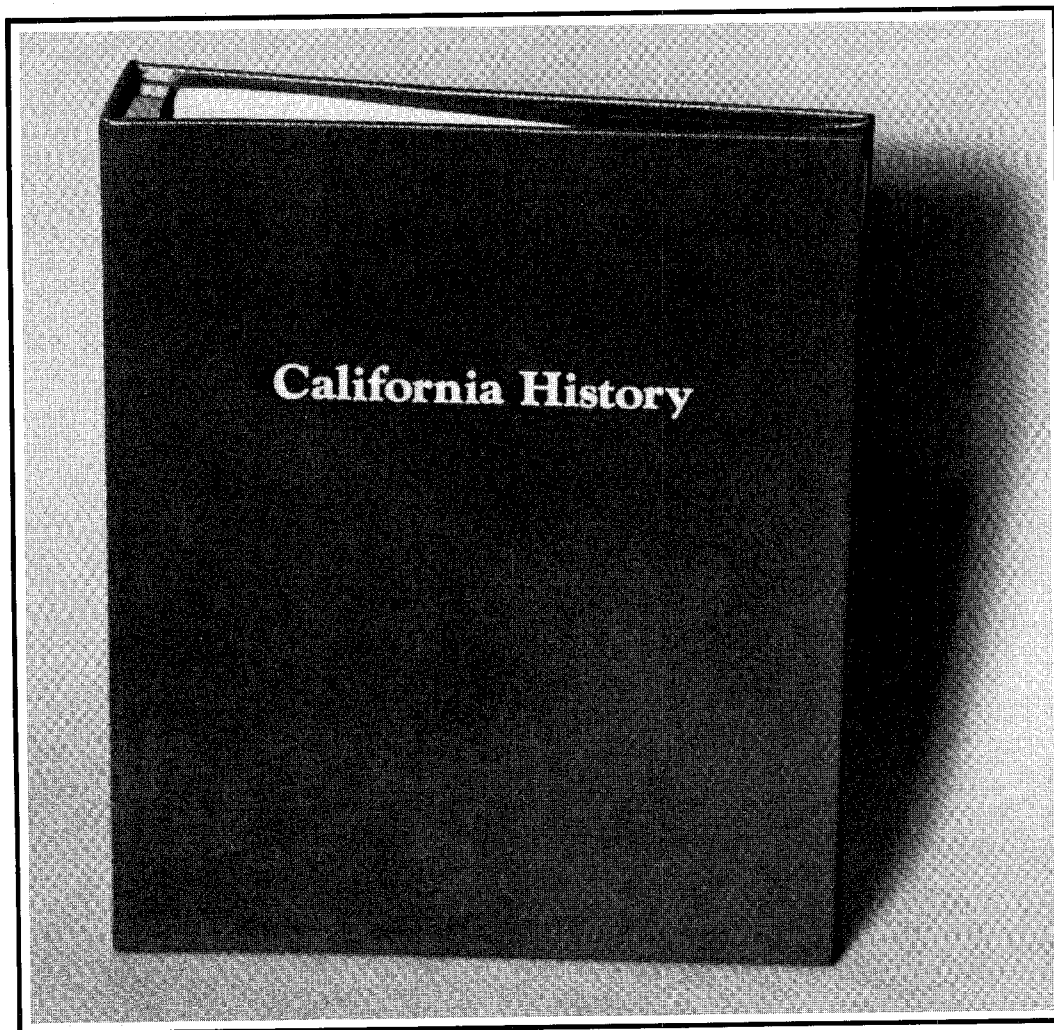
The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1979-80) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- Andersen, Timothy J., Eudorah M. Moore, & Robert W. Winter. *California Design, 1910*. Photographer: Morley Baer. Santa Barbara & Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1980. 144 pp. \$11.95.
- Becker, Robert H. *The Plains and the Rockies: A Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel Exploration and Adventure in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1800-1865*, by Henry R. Wagner and Charles L. Camp. Fourth edition. Revised and enlarged. San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1980.
- Bidwell, Annie E. K. *Rancho Chico Indians*. Edited by Dorothy J. Hill. Chico: Bidwell Mansion Cooperating Association, 1980. 72 pp. Publisher, 525 Esplanade, Chico, 95926. \$8.00.
- Brown, James L. *Dissension in Arcady. The Bear Flag Revolt*. Campbell, California: The Academy Press, 1978. 172 pp. Publisher, 515 Westchester Drive, Campbell, 95008. \$13.50.
- Brown, James L. *Mussel Slough Tragedy*. Second edition, Hanford, California: Oldtown News, 1980. Publisher, 308 N. Irwin Street, Hanford, 93230. \$6.00.
- Brownlow, Kevin. *Hollywood: The Pioneers*. New York: Knopf, 1980. \$20.00.
- Bruegmann, Robert. *Benecia: Portrait of an Early California Town. An Architectural History*. San Francisco: 101 Productions, 1980. Publisher, 834 Mission, San Francisco.
- California Institute of Public Affairs. *California Environmental Directory: A Guide to Organizations and Resources*. Third edition. Completely revised. Claremont: California Institute of Public Affairs, an affiliate of the Claremont Colleges, 1980. 180 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 10, Claremont, 91711.
- Castillo-Tsuchida, Adelaida. *Filipino Migrants in San Diego*. San Diego: Printed by the author, 1980. Publisher, 360 Magellon, San Diego, 92154. \$5.00.
- Ceplair, Larry & Steve Englund. *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community*. New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1980. \$17.50.
- Clar, C. Raymond. *Folsom to Sacramento: Some Forgotten History About a "Model Highway."* Carmichael: Sacramento Corral of Westerners, 1980. 41 pp. (Publication number four) Publisher, 4235 Oak Knoll Drive, Carmichael, 95608. \$2.50.
- Clarke, James Mitchell. *The Life and Adventures of John Muir*. San Diego: The Work Shop, 1980. 362 pp. \$14.95.
- Cox, James R. (ed.) *Classics in the Literature of Mountaineering and Mountain Travel from the Francis P. Farquhar Collection of Mountaineering Literature: An Annotated Bibliography*. Pasadena: Castle Press, 1980. 84 pp. Publisher, Library Accounting Section, University Research Library, University of California, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, 90024. \$25.00.
- Daniels, Douglas Henry. *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980. \$17.50.
- Davis, Reda. *The Life of Marietta Stow, Cooperator*. Pt. Pinos Editions, 1969. Reprinted 1980. 244 pp.
- Donovan, M. Suzanne. *San Francisco Neighborhood and Ethnic Newspapers*. San Francisco: Media Alliance, 1980. Publisher, Bldg. 314, Fort Mason, San Francisco, 94123. \$2.25.
- Dorn, Norman K. *The Complete Films of William S. Hart: A Pictorial Record*. New York: Dover Press, 1980. \$8.95.
- Engbeck, Joseph H. Jr. *State Parks of California*. Photographs by Philip Hyde.

- Oakland: California State Parks Foundation, 1980. 128 pp. Publisher, 1706 Broadway, Room 610, Oakland, 94612. \$50.00.
- Folsom Prison: *Early History - Photos of Cells, Trains, Inmates, Quarry*. Sacramento: Californiana Press, 1980. Publisher, Box 22246, Sacramento, 95822. \$3.00.
- Ford, Robert S. *Red Trains Remembered*. Glendale: Interurbans, 1980. 120 pp. \$16.95.
- Hansen, Jay. *The Other Guide to San Francisco: Or 105 Things To Do After You've Taken the Cable Car to Fisherman's Wharf*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1980. \$5.95.
- Hilleary, Roger. *A Grand Place: John Steinbeck's Homes in Pacific Grove and Monterey*. Monterey: Hilleary & Petko, 1979. 23 pp. Dawson's Book Shop, 535 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, 90004. \$12.00.
- Hodgson, Maya. *Cover to Cover: A Field Guide to San Francisco Bay Area Bookstores*. Palo Alto: Worden Fraser Pub., 1980. \$6.95.
- Howard, Donald M. *Pictures and Letters from Stars*. Carmel: Antiquities, 1980. Publisher, Don Howard, P.O. Box 4606, Carmel, 93921. \$67.95.
- Hutchinson, W. H. *California: The Golden Shore by the Sundown Sea*. New York: Star Publishing Company, 1980. 342 pp. \$16.95, \$12.95 paperback.
- Island: *Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island 1910 to 1940*. San Francisco: Hoc Doi Project, 1980. Publisher, P.O. Box 5646, San Francisco.
- Jackson, Donald Dale. *Gold Dust*. New York: Knopf, 1980. 384 pp. \$13.95.
- Johnson, Kenneth. *Stephen Mallory White*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1980. 33 pp. Publisher, 535 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, 90004.
- Letters from the Wolverine Rangers to the Marshall, Michigan, Statesman, 1849-1851*. Mt. Pleasant, Michigan: John Cumming, 1980. Publisher, 464 Hiawatha Drive, Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858. \$10.00.
- Letters of David Wooster from California to the Adrian, Michigan Expositor, 1850-1855*. Mount Pleasant, Michigan: John Cumming, 1980. Publisher, 464 Hiawatha Drive, Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858. \$7.50.
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- Letters of Thomas S. Myrick from California to the Jackson, Michigan, American Citizen, 1849-1852*. Mt. Pleasant, Michigan: John Cumming, 1980. Publisher, 464 Hiawatha Dr., Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858. \$7.50.
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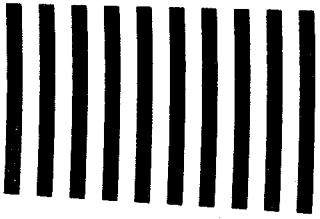
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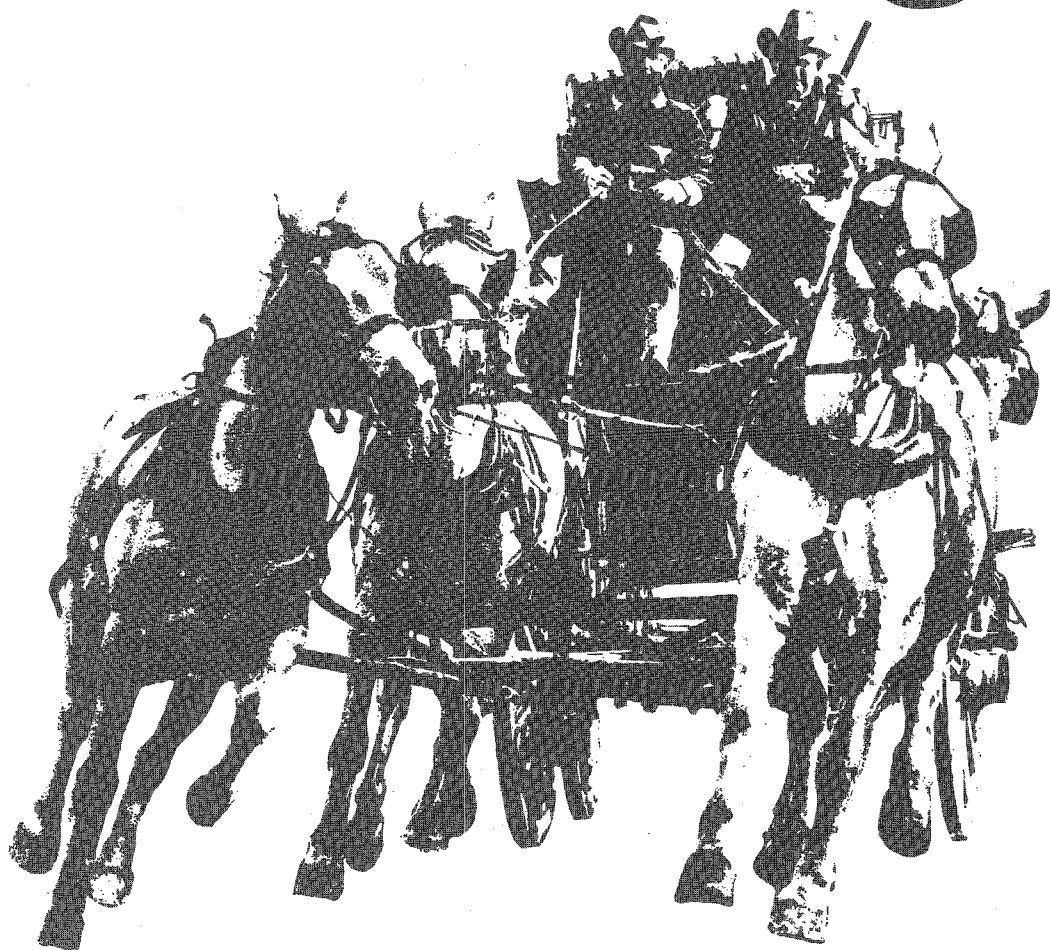
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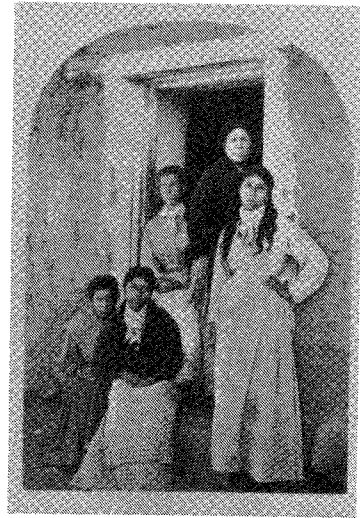
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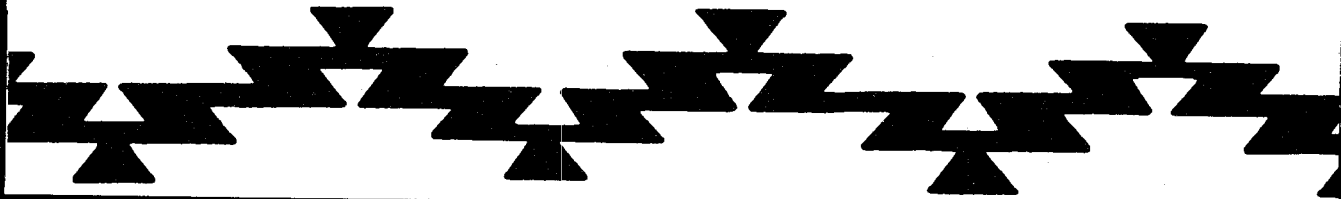
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